



...ue med
...tanda
...timorem
...non sur
...ne & uelociter. sed pa
...tatione. Nec debet inte
...tam pleat: sed quan

ARCHBISHOP ANSELM 1093–1109

Bec Missionary, Canterbury Primate, Patriarch of Another World

Sally N. Vaughn

ARCHBISHOP ANSELM 1093–1109

The Archbishops of Canterbury Series

Series Editor: Andrew Chandler, University of Chichester UK

Series Advisory Board: Professor Katy Cubitt (University of York);
Professor Anne Duggan (King's College, London);
Professor Sally Vaughn (University of Houston); Dr Julia Barrow (University of
Nottingham); Professor Robert Swanson (University of Birmingham);
Professor Diarmaid McCulloch (University of Oxford); Professor Alexandra Walsham
(University of Cambridge); Dr Judith Maltby (University of Oxford);
Professor Jeremy Gregory (University of Manchester); Professor Stephen Taylor
(University of Reading); Professor Arthur Burns King's College, London);
Professor David Hein (Hood College);

Developed in association with Lambeth Palace Library archives, this series presents authoritative studies on the Archbishops of Canterbury. Each book combines biographical, historical, theological, social and political analysis within each archiepiscopacy, with original source material drawn from the Archbishop's correspondence, speeches and published and unpublished writings. The *Archbishops of Canterbury* series offers a vital source of reference, of lasting importance to scholars, students and all readers interested in the history of the international Church.

Other titles in this series:

Archbishop Fisher 1945–1961

Church, State and World

Andrew Chandler and David Hein

Archbishops Ralph d'Escures, William of Corbeil and Theobald of Bec

Heirs of Anselm and Ancestors of Becket

Jean Truax

Archbishop Anselm 1093–1109

Bec Missionary, Canterbury Primate,
Patriarch of Another World

SALLY N. VAUGHN

ASHGATE

© Sally N. Vaughn 2012

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.

Sally N. Vaughn has asserted her right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the author of this work.

Published by

Ashgate Publishing Limited
Wey Court East
Union Road
Farnham
Surrey, GU9 7PT
England

Ashgate Publishing Company
Suite 420
101 Cherry Street
Burlington
VT 05401-4405
USA

www.ashgate.com

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Vaughn, Sally N.

Archbishop Anselm 1093–1109 : Bec missionary, Canterbury Primate,
Pope of another world. -- (The Archbishops of Canterbury series)

1. Anselm, Saint, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1033-1109.

I. Title II. Series

282'.092-dc22

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Vaughn, Sally N.

Archbishop Anselm 1093–1109 : Bec missionary, Canterbury primate, Pope of another
world / Sally N. Vaughn.

p. cm. -- (The archbishops of Canterbury series)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4094-0121-6 (hardcover) -- ISBN 978-1-4094-0122-3 (pbk)

1. Anselm, Saint, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1033-1109.

I. Title.

B765.A84V38 2011

282.092--dc22

[B]

2011014973

ISBN 9781409401223 (pbk)

ISBN 9781409401216 (hbk)

ISBN 9781409435662 (ebk)

v



Printed and bound in Great Britain by the
MPG Books Group, UK

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>Source Abbreviations</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>Prologue and Acknowledgments</i>	<i>xv</i>

PART I: THE NARRATIVE, ANSELM'S ARCHIEPISCOPATE

1	Introduction: Anselm's Story through his Letters in Lambeth 59	3
2	The Bec Background: A Missionary Mentality	23
3	Anselm's Election: Primatial Theory	49
4	An Old Sheep Yoked to a Wild Bull: Archbishop Anselm and King William Rufus	73
5	Interlude: Anselm in Exile and the Death of a King	101
6	Two Oxen Pulling the Plow of the Church through the Land of England: Archbishop Anselm and King Henry I	125
7	Patriarch of Another World: The Primacy at its Height, and the Problem of York	153

**PART II: ILLUSTRATIVE SOURCES,
ANSELM'S LETTERS FROM LAMBETH 59**

- | | | |
|----------|---|------------|
| 1 | Introduction: Anselm's Story through his Letters in Lambeth 59 (which may well have been Anselm's own collection) | 169 |
| 2 | Documents for Chapter 2:
The Bec Background: A Missionary Mentality | 173 |
| | a. Herluin's Dream, in <i>Vita Herluini</i> , from "Life of Herluin," in J. Armitage Robinson, <i>Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster: A Study of the Abbey under Norman Rule</i> (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1911), pp. 100, 103 | 174 |
| | b. Epistle 149, Ab Osberno monacho Cantuariensi (from Osbern monk of Canterbury, calling Anselm to England) | 178 |
| | c. Epistle 223, A Paschali papa (from Pope Paschal, mirroring St. Gregory's letter to St. Augustine) | 182 |
| 3 | Documents for Chapter 3:
Anselm's Election: Primatial Theory | 189 |
| | a. Epistle 153, A Roberto duce Normanniae (from Robert duke of Normandy, approval of Anselm's election) | 190 |
| | b. Epistle 154, A Willelmo archiepiscopo Rotomagensi (from William archbishop of Rouen, approval of Anselm's election) | 190 |
| | c. Epistle 156, Ad Baldricum priorem ceterosque monachos Beccenses (to Prior Baudry and the monks of Bec, explaining his mission) | 192 |
| | d. Epistle 170, Ad Wlstanum episcopum Wigorniensem (to Wulfstan bishop of Worcester, finding Canterbury precedents) | 196 |
| | e. Epistle 198, Ad Domnaldum, Donatum, ac ceteros episcopos Hiberniae (to the bishops of Ireland, primatial theory) | 198 |

4	Documents for Chapter 4: An Old Sheep Yoked to a Wild Bull: Anselm and King William Rufus	203
	a. Epistle 191, Ad Walterum legatum cardinalem episcopum (to the papal legate Cardinal Bishop Walter of Albano, Anselm avoids meeting him)	204
	b. Epistle 192, Ad Walterum legatum cardinalem episcopum (to Cardinal Legate Walter of Albano, Anselm denies his authority in England)	208
	c. Epistle 206, Ad Urbanum papam (in HN p. 91 [95]) (to Pope Urban, summarizing problems with Rufus)	214
	d. Epistle 210, Ad Paschalem papam (to Pope Paschal, summarizing problems with Rufus)	220
5	Documents for Chapter 6: Two Oxen Pulling the Plow of the Church through the Land of England: Archbishop Anselm and King Henry I	225
	a. Epistle 212: Ab Henrico rege Anglorum (HN 118) (Henry I's letter inviting Anselm back to England on his coronation)	226
	b. Epistle 288, Ad Mathildem reginam Anglorum (to Matilda, queen as substitute ruler of the Church)	228
	c. Epistle 217, Ad Paschalem papam (to Paschal, request to lessen severity of homage, investiture)	230
	d. Epistle 369, Ad Robertum comitem de Mellento (HN 170, 455) (to Robert count of Meulan, settlement at L'Aigle)	232
	e. Epistle 401, Ab Henrico rege Anglorum (HN 184; see GP 127) (from Henry, on his victory at Tinchebrai)	234
	f. Epistle 402, Ad Henricum regem Anglorum et ducem Normannorum (Anselm's reply)	236
6	Documents for Chapter 7: Patriarch of Another World: The Primacy at its Height: And the Problem of York	239
	a. Epistle 243, Ad Mathildam reginam Anglorum (to Matilda, as queen bride of the king)	240
	b. Epistle 303, A Paschali papa (Paschal's letter granting the primacy to Anselm and his successors)	244
	c. Epistle 304, A Paschali papa (Paschal's earlier letter granting the primacy and the pallium to Anselm)	244

d. Epistle 283, Paschalis papa ad Gerardum archiepiscopum Eboracensem (HN 200 [231]) (Paschal's letter ordering York to swear obedience to Canterbury)	246
e. Epistle 399, Ab Henrico rege Anglorum (Henry to Anselm at Bec granting all Canterbury's privileges)	246
f. Epistle 235, Ad Baldewinum regem Hierosolymorum (to Baldwin king of Jerusalem)	248
g. Epistle 324, Ad Baldewinum regem Hierosolymorum (to Baldwin king of Jerusalem)	250
h. Epistle 447, Ad Atserum archiepiscopum Lundini Danorum (to Atserum archbishop of the London of the Danes)	252
i. Epistle 429, Ad Gislebertum episcopum Lunnicensem (to Gilbert bishop of Limerick in Ireland)	254
j. Epistle 442, Ad Rannulfum episcopum Dunelmensem (HN 209–210) (to Rannulf bishop of Durham)	254
k. Epistle 467, Ad Robertum comitem de Mellento (to Robert count of Meulan)	256
7 More Documents for Chapter 7:	
The Archbishop as Administrator: Securing Lands and Rights at Court, Building, Rebuilding the See	259
a. Epistle 271, Ad Willelmum archiepiscopum Rotomagensem (to William archbishop of Rouen, about an incompetent abbot)	260
b. Epistle 293, Ad Gundulfum episcopum Rofensem (to Gundulf bishop of Rochester as second in command)	262
c. Epistle 265, Ad Henricum regem Anglorum (to Henry king of the English, about the consecration of the bishop of Winchester)	264
d. Epistle 469, Ad Rodulfum episcopum Cicestrensem (to Ralph bishop of Chichester)	264
e. Epistle 474, Ad monachos Cantuarienses (to the monks of Canterbury)	266
f. Epistle 475, Ad omnes fideles Ecclesiae Christi (to all the faithful men of Christ Church, Canterbury)	266
<i>Select Bibliography</i>	269
<i>Index</i>	277

List of Illustrations

Frontispiece	Portrait of Anselm from the Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. 2. 6. fol. 156 r, a manuscript of Anselm's prayers and meditations from the twelfth century	xxii
Illustration A.	Illuminated Initial from Lambeth 59, fol. 64 r, first Archiepiscopal letter	170
Illustration B.	Manuscript Page, Lambeth 59, fol. 176 r, to King Baldwin of Jerusalem	171
Illustration C.	Manuscript Page, Lambeth 59, fol. 116 r, letter to Anselm, initial P	172

This page has been left blank intentionally

Source Abbreviations

- Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Michael Swanton (Routledge, New York, 1998).
- Anselmi Opera Omnia* Anselm, *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, ed. F.S. Schmitt, 6 vols (Thomas Nelson and Sons, Edinburgh, 1946–1951). Epistles cited by Epistle number.
Anselm, *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, ed. F.S. Schmitt, 6 vols (Stuttgart-Bad Canstatt: Freidrich Frommann Verlag, 1968). Epistles cited by Epistle number.
- Barlow, *English Church* Barlow, Frank, *The English Church, 1066–1154* (Longman, London, 1979).
- Barlow, *Rufus* Barlow, Frank, *William Rufus* (University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 1983).
- Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1969; reprinted 1972 and 1979).
- Canterbury Professions* *Canterbury Professions*, ed. Michael Richter (Devonshire Press, Torquay, 1973).
- Du Boulay, *Lordship of Canterbury* Du Boulay, F.R.H., *The Lordship of Canterbury: An Essay on Medieval Society* (Barnes and Noble, New York, 1966).
- Eadmer, HN Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. Martin Rule (Rolls Series, London, 1884).
- Eadmer, VA Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Anselmi*, ed. R.W. Southern (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972; reprinted 1996).

- Fröhlich, *Letters of Anselm* Anselm, *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, trans. Walter Fröhlich, 3 vols (Cistercian Publications, Kalamazoo, MI, 1990–1994).
- GP William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom, 2 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2007).
- GR William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1998).
- Hollister, *Henry I* Hollister, C. Warren, *Henry I*, ed. and completed by Amanda Clark Frost (Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 2001).
- Lanfranc Lanfranc, *The Letters of Lanfranc*, ed. Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1979).
- Niskanen, *The Letter Collections* Niskanen, Samu, *The Letter Collections of Anselm of Canterbury* (Helsinki University Press, Helsinki, 2009).
- OV Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1969–1980).
- RRAN (Bates) *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I*, ed. David Bates (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1998).
- Southern, *A Portrait in a Landscape* Southern, Richard W., *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990).
- Southern, *St. Anselm and his Biographer* Southern, Richard, W., *St. Anselm and his Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059–c.1130* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1966).
- Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan* Vaughn, Sally N., *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan: The Innocence of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent* (University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 1987).

- Vaughn, *St. Anselm and the Handmaidens of God* Vaughn, Sally N., *St. Anselm and the Handmaidens of God: A Study of Anselm's Correspondence with Women* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2000).
- VB *Vita Bosoni*, trans. S. Vaughn, in *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1981), 126–133.
- VG *Vita Gundulfi: The Life of Gundulf of Rochester*, ed. Rodney Thompson (Toronto Medieval Latin Texts, Toronto, 1977).
- VH Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, edited in Anna Sapir Abulafia and G.R. Evans, *The Works of Gilbert Crispin* (Oxford University Press, for The British Academy, London, 1986), 183–212.
Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, translated in Sally N. Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1981), 67–86.
- VL *Vita Lanfranci*, in *Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, vol. 150, cols 29–58.
Vita Lanfranci, translated in Sally N. Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1981), 87–111.
- William of Poitiers William of Poitiers, *The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. and trans. R.H.C. Davis and Marjorie Chibnall, Oxford Medieval Texts (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1998).

This page has been left blank intentionally

Prologue and Acknowledgments

While studies of St. Anselm have always engaged a large number of scholars, in recent years there has been something of a revival of them. It had seemed at one time that with Sir Richard Southern's publication in 1990 of *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape*,¹ the last word had been said, at least on Anselm's life as a whole. This book, as Southern states in his preface, was written in response to—indeed inspired by—my own book, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan: The Innocence of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent*,² which argued that Anselm was more than the incompetent statesman Southern had described in his earlier book, *St. Anselm and his Biographer*;³ rather, I had argued, as archbishop of Canterbury Anselm was a highly effective actor on the stage of high politics—and a successful one. Southern incorporated this view into his analysis of Anselm's archiepiscopal politics and his political career in his second book, as opposed to his earlier view that Anselm, innocent and disinterested in politics, had been a victim of political forces beyond his control. Now at last, many modern scholars—especially historians—could say that the portrait of Anselm was complete, as earlier epitomized by Archbishop Michael Ramsey in 1979, in the opening address to the Third International Anselm Conference at Canterbury:

We commemorate today the greatest of the Archbishops of Canterbury, Anselm of Bec. He served God as a monk, as a man of contemplation who led many and still leads many in the way of prayer, as a loving pastor, as a profound thinker, and as a courageous statesman. To excel in two or three of these roles is not indeed rare in the history of Christianity. But we see Anselm using all five talents to the full, and it is remembered not only that all these talents were his but that these aspects had an inner unity and were all of one piece.⁴

¹ R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990).

² Sally N. Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan: The Innocence of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent* (University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 1987).

³ R.W. Southern, *St. Anselm and his Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059–c. 1130* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1966).

⁴ From *Anselm Studies*, 1:1, quoted in Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 365–366.

Southern's second portrait of Anselm sought to capture that unified picture, and many scholars now writing on Anselm still use it as a starting point. But since that seminal book was written, much new scholarship has emerged, not only on Anselm but also on many of the key historical figures with whom he was engaged.⁵ One new biography of King William Rufus, two biographies of King Henry I, one on Henry's queen Matilda of Scotland, and new biographies of both Robert Curthose and Hugh de Die, archbishop of Lyon, have appeared, to name just a few. New, excellent editions and translations of key primary sources have also appeared, such as William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* and *Gesta Pontificum*, along with a plethora of other new editions of both Norman and English historians of the Anglo-Norman state such as William of Poitiers, William of Jumièges, and Henry of Huntingdon. Many articles have appeared on Anselm's theology and philosophy, his sources, his publications, and his teaching. Clearly St. Anselm, with all his activities as a revered saint, scholar, teacher, abbot, and archbishop is a gigantic topic—and one on which more can now be said.

Thus, when Andrew Chandler approached me on behalf of the current archbishop of Canterbury to write this book on St. Anselm's archiepiscopate, for this new series on the archbishops of Canterbury, I was delighted. I wrote my first book, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan* on Anselm's archiepiscopate in 1987. So much has been published since then, and I have done so much more myself, that I have come to an enlarged view of Anselm's archiepiscopal career. While it must never be forgotten that Anselm was a great scholar and theologian, his public life was also of major importance to him, for he felt that God had called him to Canterbury, and he wanted to do well for God's cause. As we have seen, Archbishop Ramsey thought he did. This book has allowed me to expand what I now think is Anselm's view of God's cause in England, and to expand my interpretation of how he carried it out. Thus this book will focus on Anselm's public career as archbishop, but will also include the scholarly and theological works he produced from time to time during his archiepiscopate, as part of that unity of his person upon which Archbishop Ramsey remarked. I have tried in this book to view these theological writings at precisely the time in Anselm's public career that they were written, and to contemplate how his theological thinking related to his conduct of his political agenda.

Although he wrote his most important theological and philosophical works as prior and abbot of Bec—with the exception of *Cur Deus Homo*, which he wrote during his first archiepiscopal exile—Anselm also, from time to time, continued to write theological tracts during his archiepiscopate. As I have

⁵ See Bibliography for these publications.

tracked them, these writings took place during periods of political quietude, when he was not engaged in high politics—such as interludes in the three years of his first exile from England. Consequently, while I have noted Anselm's production of these tracts, the circumstances of their production, and their general substance, I have not dwelt at length on them. This is not to deny their importance, but to emphasize that such theological work could only be done in times when Anselm was not faced with the repeated political crises that marked his archiepiscopal career, necessitating his heavy involvement in the high politics demanded by his proper service to God. While Anselm continued to write philosophy and theology, it was less often that he could.

On the other hand, Richard Sharpe has argued that during his archiepiscopate Anselm did pay a good deal of attention to the dissemination of his already written, and now collected, tracts and groups of letters.⁶ So while I have chosen to emphasize Anselm's statesmanship and episcopal administration, I have sought to include descriptions of his literary productions at the point where he produced them, and relate them to his political activities insofar as possible. As this book is conceived for the general reader, I leave that reader to turn to Southern and others for more comprehensive discussions of his theology. My own expertise lies in the study of both Anselm's career at Bec and its sources, in which study I have spent most of my adult life, and to which Southern gave less attention; and on Anselm's statesmanship, to which I turn in more depth than Southern, and in more depth than my previous book on Anselm's political career. I have endeavored to write for the information of the general reader, while at the same time contributing a new perspective to scholarly considerations: this book is not just a recycling of old ideas, whether mine or Southern's.

There are three areas in particular in which I have sought to break new ground. First, after much study, I have come to the conclusion that Anselm's ideas and attitudes toward England and its archiepiscopate were formed during his thirty-year career at Bec, in two ways: first, he and Lanfranc developed a particular set of ideas at Bec from Lanfranc's arrival in about 1040 until Anselm's departure in 1093—a total of some fifty years in which they shaped Bec's program. I argue here that Bec's program was a missionary one, executed in both Normandy and England. Second, I argue that Lanfranc formulated, from this Bec program, particular historical and legal interpretations of the "right order" of England's government by its king and archbishop. I have done this analysis here in print for the first time. It has appeared to at least one reader

⁶ Richard Sharpe, "Anselm as Author: Publishing in the Late Eleventh Century," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 19 (2009), 1–87, here at 56.

of this manuscript that my emphasis on Bec is “overblown,” but I stand behind my views. No one previously has made this argument. Southern views Anselm’s Bec years as years of peace in which Anselm spent his days in conversation with his monks. I have here endeavored to discern at least some of what Anselm discussed with his monks at Bec beyond his theological writings.

Second, I have reexamined here the sources on the death of King William Rufus, and argue here that I believe his death was not accidental, as C.W. Hollister has argued in the face of accusations that King Henry I was behind the murder.⁷ I cannot say that I know who the murderers were—beyond the fact that they may well have been Anselm’s supporters, or even Pope Paschal’s supporters. I have tried to eliminate King Henry and the French King Philip II as suspects, though. The circumstantial evidence is very confused, but it does point to murder rather than accident.

Finally, I have attempted at least a partial reevaluation of King William Rufus. Eadmer portrays him as almost a deluded madman, descending from his first abuse of the church step by step to contempt and hatred of Anselm to refusal to obey either Anselm or the pope, to love of Jews to atheism to madness. In the end, in Eadmer’s story, God struck him down with death. Southern largely follows Eadmer’s account, viewing him as a reliable eyewitness—indeed, the most reliable witness. Reexamining the accounts of William of Malmesbury, I discovered a more balanced interpretation of this robust and aggressive king, which I have endeavored to integrate into my interpretation of this much-maligned king, suggesting that he was not nearly so vicious and evil as Eadmer portrays him. If one approaches both Rufus and Anselm from neutral ground, without assumptions that Anselm must be right and Rufus wrong, then there is a case to be made for this king’s stances against Anselm—and indeed William of Malmesbury at least partially makes it. My interpretation of Anselm’s dealings with King Henry I, and of his achievements in establishing the Canterbury primate as Patriarch (or Pope) of Another World, in his primatial dominance over Ireland, Scotland, and the Orkneys—all Britain—remains unchanged from my previous book *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, with the exception of my pointing to a hint that Anselm was thinking about Denmark as well.

I was asked to use primary sources, in facing Latin and English translation, to document my text. I have chosen to use mostly Anselm’s archiepiscopal letters, as I have endeavored to tell Anselm’s story as much in his own words as I can. Crucial to the tale, however, is Anselm’s secretary Eadmer’s account, and the account of William of Malmesbury, who, I will argue, was Eadmer’s student

⁷ C. Warren Hollister, “The Strange Death of William Rufus,” *Speculum* 48 (1973), 637–653.

and, in a sense, his disciple.⁸ Anselm's archiepiscopal letters comprise a vast collection, and it has been difficult to choose which letters to include. I have tried to choose the most representative ones for the key points I have chosen to argue. All my translations are newly done, although the Latin text comes from the Schmitt edition, Anselm's *Opera Omnia*. I have prefaced this collection of Anselm's letters with a key text from *Vita Herluini*, a story I conceive of as a kind of textbook for Bec's students in Anselm's time, in its earliest, oral version.⁹ This translation, too, is a new one.

I begin with a discussion of the available sources and especially Anselm's correspondence as collected at Canterbury. Eadmer and William of Malmesbury, among others, are analysed for their attitudes toward Anselm. Second, I argue that at the abbey of Bec, a missionary mentality prevailed, with Lanfranc and Anselm conceiving of Bec as a missionary outpost in a barbarian land. Herluin's Dream foretells a missionary enterprise to be likewise carried out in England. It is in this Bec conception and training that the key to understanding Anselm's governance of England lies. In Chapter 3, I sketch Anselm's Primatial Theory, conceived through his training at Bec and his observation of Lanfranc's foundational theories as the first Norman archbishop of Canterbury. In Chapter 4 I show how Anselm's pre-conceived notions of Canterbury's primacy, developed at Bec, shaped his relationship to King William Rufus and the politics of that reign. Anselm, I argue, believed that the archbishop of Canterbury ought to be a co-ruler with England's king, based not only on Eadmer's account, but also on William of Malmesbury's account. Rufus vehemently objected, with a volcanic result. I offer here some new perspectives on the Red King, based primarily on William of Malmesbury's assessment which has been much neglected among modern chroniclers of Rufus. Chapter 5 developed as an interlude, assessing the meaning and impact of the traumatic events surrounding Anselm's exile and the death of William Rufus and its aftermath. In Chapter 6, I show how, unlike the strong and powerful William Rufus, the more insecure King Henry I was forced to compromise with Anselm, bringing to fruition Anselm's dream of co-rule with the king, and

⁸ Malmesbury's two major works, *Gesta Regum Anglorum* and *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* have recently appeared in two splendid editions with translations, so that I did not think it necessary to include excerpts here. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom, 2 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2007). William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1998).

⁹ For the argument that *Vita Herluini* was a textbook for Bec, see Sally N. Vaughn, "Anselm of Bec: The Pattern of His Teaching," in *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000–1200*, ed. Sally N. Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 99–128.

alongside its significant independence from papal control. Chapter 7 establishes that Anselm truly achieved the status he had desired when he first conceived his primatial theory: co-rule with King Henry and almost total independence from the papal court as Patriarch of Another World. Here I outline Anselm's achievements in bringing his authority not only over all the churches of England (except York); but also the administrative details of how he managed the day-to-day business of his see, both as an archbishop and primate, and as a feudal lord and vassal. His influence spread throughout the British Isles, further north into the Orkneys and Denmark, and far east to Jerusalem. His one failure was his inability to force the Church of York into submission. Beyond that failure, everything else was an astonishing success, so that Anselm built the archbishopric to its greatest historical heights.

In undertaking this new enterprise, I have incurred many debts. First and foremost, I owe my companion Michael Gelting a huge amount of thanks. Most of this book was written in his home in Copenhagen, a quiet summer refuge for me from the turmoil of my teaching world in Houston. Moreover, he was my best and most frequent critic of each chapter as it progressed. Michael also proofread and corrected both my Latin sources, and my English translations of them, saving me from many errors. My former student Priscilla Watkins enhanced my understanding of the school of Bec and Lanfranc's role at Caen, through both her dissertation and her articles, printed and forthcoming. My former student Jean Truax, with her pathbreaking work on the family of Blois and her work on Anselm's successor Ralph d'Escures, also contributed to my fund of knowledge for this book. My former student Holle Canatella's work on Anselm and his friendship with Ida of Boulogne also taught me much in understanding Anselm. My former student Courtney de Mayo enriched my knowledge of the schools before Bec. Working with Jay Rubenstein on our collection of articles for *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe*, our co-edited volume, in addition to his monumental, prize-winning volume on Guibert of Nogent, contributed much to my knowledge. More recently, collaborations with Giles Gasper and his students have enriched my knowledge of Eadmer and Anglo-Norman historiography.

I am also grateful to the History Department at the University of Houston for intermittent release time, enabling me to work on this book more concentratedly; and for much support to attend conferences I needed to attend to keep up with the latest research around this topic, and to present papers preparatory to the book's final writing for the criticism of my peers. I am grateful especially to the organizers of the annual conference at the University of Leeds for many opportunities to share knowledge with and learn from other scholars. The librarians at the University of Houston time and again performed

miracles to search out for me difficult to find materials, and to them I am very grateful. Thus many people helped me in conceiving, creating, and finishing this volume, and I am deeply grateful to them all. Nevertheless, any errors that have crept in are my own responsibility, and I take full claim to them.

Sally N. Vaughn,
The University of Houston, USA



que meditationes que subscripte sunt. que ad ex-
 tandam legentis mentem addere amorem uel
 amorem. seu ad summo discussionem eduxerunt
 non sunt legende intumultu. sed in quiete
 et uelocitate. sed paulatim cum inuenta et miosa medi-
 tatione. Nec debet incendere lector ut quamlibet carum uo-
 tam plegat: sed quantum sentat sibi deo adiuuante ualere
 ad accendendum affectum orandi. uel quantum illum de-
 lectat. Nec necesse habet aliquam temp ap principio incipere
 sed ubi magis illi placuerit. Ad hoc enim ipsum paragraphis
 sumo distinde pparet. ut ubi elegerit incipiat aut definat.
 ne ppter aut frequens eiusdem loci repetitio generet fasti-
 dium. sed potius aliquem inde colligat lector. ppter quod
 facte sunt in istis affectus.



Non tibi xpe te
 dempro mea.
 alius mea. mis-
 cordia mea te
 laudo. tibi gratias
 ago. Quam uis
 ualde imparet tuis beneficiis qm
 ut multum ceteris digne deuotionis
 quamini nihil maculat a desiderata pinguedine dulcissimi
 tui affectu. tam qleuinq. laudet. qleuinq. gratias nqlet scio
 me debere. sicut potest conari tibi p soluo anima mea. Spes
 cordis mei. uirtus anime mee. a uicium infernuum me.

PART I
The Narrative,
Anselm's Archiepiscopate

This page has been left blank intentionally

Chapter 1
Introduction:
Anselm's Story through his
Letters in Lambeth 59

Shortly after his 1079 election as abbot of Bec in Normandy, probably in 1080, Anselm visited England, where, as a good abbot, he needed to look after Bec's many lands "for the common good of the brethren" of Bec. But he also wished to go to England for another reason, no less strong: his desire to see his Bec teacher and dear friend Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury. The monks of Canterbury welcomed him joyfully and showed him great honor, whereupon he preached a sermon to them on the greater good of loving another, as they had shown their love for him, than of receiving such a gift of love. Then the Canterbury monks received him into their community, where he lived among them as one of them, talking to them daily in the chapter house and cloister. Moreover, he began preaching to England's people throughout the land on the virtues of living a good life.¹ Thus Abbot Anselm of Bec in Normandy became a monk of Canterbury long before he became England's archbishop, and immediately assumed duties appropriate to his future archiepiscopal functions.

Anselm's visit to England in 1080 clearly foreshadows his election as archbishop of Canterbury thirteen years later, in 1093, and suggests that Lanfranc—and the monks of Canterbury—may well have intended for Anselm to succeed him as England's metropolitan and primate, preparing the way by inducting him as a Canterbury monk and sending him forth to perform archiepiscopal duties. Thus the story of Anselm's archiepiscopate must begin well before his election and consecration, and include his Bec years in which he maintained close ties with Lanfranc in England. This book will chronicle Anselm's archiepiscopal career as the second Norman primate of England, as archbishop of Canterbury. First, this introduction will enumerate the relevant sources available for a study of Anselm's archiepiscopate, including primarily his letters, some of which we have selected carefully to illustrate his career and

¹ Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Anselmi*, ed. R.W. Southern (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972; reprinted 1996), 48–50, 54–57.

placed in Part II of this book, in the original Latin and in English translation. Other sources, especially the two biographies written by Anselm's student and secretary Eadmer, require analysis as to their usefulness. I will also suggest in this chapter the hitherto unsuspected importance of William of Malmesbury's two histories to Anselm's archiepiscopal story. Of the hundreds of books and articles written about Anselm, we will select those most relevant to his archiepiscopate for discussion. Other sources pertaining more directly to each chapter will be discussed in those relevant chapters.

In the second chapter, we will look at the foreshadowing of Anselm's career in the Bec sources, where there seems to have been a sense of missionary endeavor toward Normandy itself, as well as, later, toward England. The founders and rulers of Bec, as their Bec biographers assert, intended to reform Normandy almost from Bec's foundation. Later, they would think of England as a barbarous land also needing reform, as we will see from the first selection in Part II, an excerpt from *The Life of Herluin* by Bec monk and abbot of Westminster Gilbert Crispin. In Chapter 3, we will see that Anselm's election as archbishop and primate prompted him to think deeply about this role, especially after the crisis and turmoil surrounding his election. He stated the outlines of his theoretical vision of his primacy, which can be augmented through his charters, letters, and Canterbury chronicles. Chapter 4 will examine the first phase of Anselm's tenure, as archbishop under King William Rufus, in which he described himself as an old sheep yoked to a wild bull—indeed an apt description of his relationship to that king. At this point in the narrative, we will insert Chapter 5 as an Interlude: a reflection upon the death of William Rufus and its enormous impact on the reign of his brother and successor King Henry I.

In the second phase of Anselm's archiepiscopal rule, examined in Chapter 6, we will see that after a period of some debate, Anselm did succeed in establishing with King Henry I a more ideal relationship, which he had earlier envisioned as king and archbishop as being like two oxen pulling the plow of the church through the land of England. The reigns of these two kings involved a papal challenge to their royal powers over the churches and churchmen in their realm, commonly known as the English Investiture Controversy. I have argued elsewhere that this controversy was in fact a three-way struggle between king, pope, and primate over the rights and powers of each against the claims of the other two participants.² Thus Anselm had a view of himself as possessing certain primatial powers, independent of the papacy, that constituted him as

² Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*. See below for further discussion of the Investiture Controversy as it relates to Anselm's letters.

Patriarch of Another World. Chapter 7 will try to reconstruct this vision, largely through his successes in bringing it about, as he brought his own primacy to its height—a level of achievement above that of his predecessor Lanfranc, and never again reached by his successors. In the midst of these efforts, he faced the defiant resistance of several archbishops of York, which is often seen as the main focus of his primacy; but I will argue that it was rather a side issue within a larger theoretical construct of Anselm's vision of his primatial rule over "another world."

In the midst of these lofty visions of theories and rights of the rulers of church and state, and missions of high diplomacy, Anselm must deal with the necessities of daily life both for the monks committed to his care and for the churches committed to his care, which will be the focus of Chapter 7. Anselm was a superb administrator at Canterbury on this level of detail, conscientiously winning, maintaining, or retrieving specific rights of his churches on the local level of rights to manors, taxes, mills, trade, and other sources of income for Canterbury, including the building and rebuilding of many churches—not least Canterbury Cathedral. In these struggles of daily life, he could call on a host of Bec monks now installed as abbots of most of England's monasteries.

Anselm himself is still a figure of much renown, not only as archbishop of Canterbury, but also, and perhaps primarily, as a profound theologian. But Anselm resembles a renaissance man, with many and varied accomplishments in many different fields, famed widely in his own lifetime for his profound theological treatises, his beautiful and inspiring prayers and meditations, his teaching in the school of Bec, his discourse on friendship and contributions to the consciousness of the individual, and finally his administration of the metropolitan see of Canterbury. Anselm's most well-known modern biographer is Sir Richard Southern, whose 481-page comprehensive study of Anselm's life, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape*,³ is the starting point for any student of Anselm. This fine analysis deals with Anselm holistically, weaving together Anselm's Bec years as a teacher and theologian with his more publicly involved Canterbury years as the primatial director of the Church of England, in which Southern seeks to balance the various sides of Anselm—theologian, teacher, friend, monk, correspondent, and finally archbishop and primate—to reveal all the various sides of Anselm's personality and career. Brian Patrick McGuire wrote

³ R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990).

extensively on Anselm's cultivation of friendship,⁴ and Colin Morris saw Anselm as instrumental in the development of the medieval idea of the individual.⁵

Southern's earlier work, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*,⁶ was Southern's first version of Anselm's story, which he expanded and amended in this second work. The earlier work, however, still remains very valuable, especially in its study of Anselm's earliest biographer, his secretary Eadmer, and Southern's assessment of Anselm's students. Southern discussed Anselm's archiepiscopal career in some detail, in both of these major works. His interpretation followed closely the testimony of Eadmer, especially in *St. Anselm and his Biographer*, seeing Anselm as mainly a teacher and theologian who hated the secular world, and especially involvement in its politics. In politics, Southern saw Anselm as rather helpless and at the mercy of forces he could not control, uninvolved and, pawnlike, manipulated by strong and ruthless political players. But in the end, Anselm came out victorious over such forces. Southern's interpretation served as a counterpoint to a slightly earlier book by Norman Cantor, *Church, Kingship and Lay Investiture in England, 1089–1135*⁷ (which Southern did not mention), in which Cantor saw Anselm quite differently, as an effective politician and a political player in bringing the Investiture Controversy to a successful conclusion for the papacy.

Southern's view prevailed for some thirty years, until I partially revived Cantor's political view of Anselm, but saw him rather as a player in a three-way struggle between king, pope, and primate, having his own agenda against both king and pope, and, as an intelligent and shrewd politician, outwitting both to bring about a conclusion to his liking.⁸ This book also portrayed Eadmer's accounts as more complicated and artful than the eyewitness observations of a simple monk that Southern portrayed, and revived and intensified the debate over Anselm's nature and character in his role as archbishop, with many vocal adherents on both sides of the issue. This present book will attempt to clarify and expand the argument for Anselm's conscious political and administrative effectiveness, after many additional years of study and contemplation. But one must always keep in mind that Anselm was a man of many varied interests and

⁴ Brian Patrick McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience, 350–1250* (Cistercian Publications, Kalamazoo, MI, 1988), pp. 190, 195–196, 205–249, 352, 375, 399.

⁵ Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1987).

⁶ R.W. Southern, *St. Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1966).

⁷ Norman Cantor, *Church, Kingship, and Lay Investiture in England, 1089–1135* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1958).

⁸ Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*.

achievements, with so many different sides to his life-long career and interests and activities that, as Southern argued, to focus on only one aspect fails to do him—or truth—justice. Anselm's political and administrative roles, so vital to the very nature of the office of archbishop of Canterbury, must always be seen with reference to his other sides—of friend, teacher, scholar, monk, preacher, and theologian. It is in this latter role that the modern world admires him the most.

As a reviver of reason and a logician of the first order, in his theological tracts, Anselm became the foremost philosopher since St. Augustine in the ranks of medieval theologians, and his writings are still studied and debated with much interest among both historians and philosophers. Of particular interest are his *Proslogion* and *Monologion*, in which he proved the existence of God by reason alone. And it is to Anselm's use of and devotion to reason that we must turn in assessing his archiepiscopal career and achievements. But let us not forget the enormously influential *Cur Deus Homo*. F.S. Schmitt compiled the authoritative Latin edition of Anselm's theological works in his *S. Anselmi Opera Omnia* in the first half of the twentieth century, which has not yet been superseded.⁹ There are very many editions and translations of Anselm's theology, too numerous to list here; of the newer complete translations, a very fine one is by Jasper Hopkins and Herbert Richardson.¹⁰ Literally hundreds of modern articles and books have appeared on Anselm's theology. Jasper Hopkins compiled a valuable and comprehensive list of publications in 1972,¹¹ and the International Bibliography—Anselm of Canterbury brings it up to 1999.¹² Walter Fröhlich's bibliography in his translations of Anselm's letters is also very useful.¹³ As of this writing, the latest books on Anselm's theology are by

⁹ *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, ed. F.S. Schmitt, 6 vols (Thomas Nelson and Sons, Edinburgh, 1946–1951), vols 1–2 for theological works.

¹⁰ Anselm of Canterbury, *Complete Philosophical and Theological Treatises of Anselm of Canterbury*, trans. Jasper Hopkins and Herbert Richardson (Edwin Mellen Press, Toronto, 1976–2006).

¹¹ Jasper Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm* (University of Minneapolis Press, Minneapolis, MN, 1972).

¹² International Bibliography—Anselm of Canterbury, ed. K. Kienzler with H. Kohlenberger, J. Biffi, E. Briancesco, M. Corbin, W. Fröhlich and F. Van Fleteren (Edwin Mellen Press, New York, 1999).

¹³ *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, trans. Walter Fröhlich, 3 vols (Cistercian Publications, Kalamazoo, MI, 1990–1994), 3:271–276.

Giles E.M. Gasper and David S. Hogg.¹⁴ Gillian Evans compiled an invaluable concordance to Anselm's works.¹⁵

Anselm's theological tracts enjoyed a wide circulation among medieval intellectuals, but his prayers and meditations were read even more widely, interestingly by his secular friends and students as well as clerics. Schmitt edited them in his authoritative Latin edition of all Anselm's works,¹⁶ and they may be found in an excellent translation by Benedicta Ward.¹⁷ Rachel Fulton wrote an insightful study of Anselm's prayers to the Virgin and to Christ, and their eleventh-century predecessors, pointing out the profound change Anselm's prayers represented, and the influence they had on twelfth-century mentality and its new conceptions of both Christ and the Virgin.¹⁸ But the prayers and meditations, which were the most popular of his works in his own time, and continued to be read widely for several centuries, have received less attention by modern scholars than his other works, although they are of great interest as works of what might be called popular culture, and it is to be hoped that they will receive more study as works of this genre. The first suggestion of the importance of such popularity of the prayers and meditations appears in a recent article on Courtly Love and his prayers to the Virgin.¹⁹

Finally, Anselm wrote literally hundreds of letters, both as Bec's abbot and as Canterbury's archbishop. As this present book will focus on telling his story as archbishop through his archiepiscopal letters, we will discuss the scholarly work on his letters at somewhat greater length than we have described other sources here, so as to understand the significant scholarly debates that continue to surround his correspondence. We know from his own letters that he collected his correspondence written in his Bec years himself—for he said so; it is now widely conjectured—but also debated—that he collected his archiepiscopal

¹⁴ Giles E.M. Gasper, *Anselm of Canterbury and his Theological Inheritance* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2004); David S. Hogg, *Anselm of Canterbury: The Beauty of Theology* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2004).

¹⁵ *A Concordance to the Works of St. Anselm*, ed. Gillian R. Evans, 4 vols (Kraus International Publications, Millwood, NY, 1984).

¹⁶ *Anselmi Opera Omnia*, ed. Schmitt, 3:1–92.

¹⁷ *The Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm*, ed. Benedicta Ward (Penguin Classics, London, 1973; reprinted 1979).

¹⁸ Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (Columbia University Press, New York, 2003).

¹⁹ Sally N. Vaughn, "Anselm and his Students Writing about Love: A Precursor to the Rise of Romantic Love in Literature?", in *Conceptualizing Medieval Sexualities: Desire and Eroticism in the Medieval World, 11th–15th Centuries: Sex without Sex*, a special issue of *The Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 19 (January 2010), co-edited by Sally N. Vaughn and Christina Christoforatos, 54–73.

letters as well. Whether or not Anselm collected his archiepiscopal letters, all the surviving letters have been gathered together a number of times, the latest authoritative Latin edition by F.S. Schmitt, who found altogether 475 letters and arranged them as well as he could in what seemed to him their chronological order,²⁰ following in particular the order in the principal manuscript of Anselm's own collection of his Bec letters (traditionally designated N), and partially following the Canterbury manuscript Lambeth 59, with many additions, for Anselm's archiepiscopal years. Walter Fröhlich translated the entire set of letters, following Schmitt's order and numbering in the Latin edition.²¹

The modern study of Anselm's correspondence began with André Wilmart in the 1920s. Wilmart augmented the *Patrologia Latina* edition of Anselm's letters with numerous additions to the collection, and his work was taken up by F.S. Schmitt, who, as we have noted, ultimately edited all of Anselm's works, including the most extensive collection of Anselm's letters, in the 1930s, publishing in the 1940s. Schmitt believed that Lambeth 59 (L, as it is traditional designated) was Anselm's own collection of his archiepiscopal letters, made in his lifetime and under his direction by Thidric, a monk of Canterbury.²² In the 1950s, Norman Cantor, following Schmitt, saw Anselm as compiling L to express his views of church–state relations in connection with the English Investiture Contest.²³ Both Schmitt and Cantor had suggested that Anselm had removed letters from the archiepiscopal collection for political reasons. Sir Richard Southern, almost immediately after Cantor's publication, objected strenuously to Schmitt's and Cantor's assertions of Anselm's oversight of L, arguing, in his first book, *St. Anselm and his Biographer*, 1963, that L had been compiled well after Anselm's death.²⁴ Schmitt replied with a defense of his position on L in 1968.²⁵

But Southern's views carried the day for the next ten years, until Walter Fröhlich reopened the debate with a paper eventually published in 1984 as

²⁰ Schmitt, *Anselmi Opera Omnia*, vols 3–5, 3:93–294.

²¹ Fröhlich, *The Letters of Saint Anselm*.

²² For a very full and detailed description of the manuscript tradition of Anselm's correspondence, see Samu Niskanen, *The Letter Collections of Anselm of Canterbury* (Helsinki University Press, Helsinki, 2009), 12–19. For Wilmart and Schmitt, 12–14. For Niskanen's latest word on the Anselm manuscripts, see Samu Niskanen, "The Evolution of Anselm's Letter Collections until ca. 1130," in *Saint Anselm of Canterbury and His Legacy*, ed. Giles E.M. Gasper and Ian Logan, Durham Publications in Medieval and Renaissance Studies (Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies: Toronto, 2012), 40–60.

²³ Cantor, *Church, Kingship, and Lay Investiture in England*, 169.

²⁴ Southern, *St. Anselm and his Biographer*, 238 n. 1.

²⁵ Niskanen, *The Letter Collections*, 15.

“The Genesis of the Collections of St. Anselm’s Letters,”²⁶ and in that same year “The Letters Omitted from Anselm’s Collection of Letters.”²⁷ But, as Samu Niskanen observed, he “saw the collection as more than a polemic within the investiture dispute,” apparently uninfluenced by Cantor’s argument, as Fröhlich failed to mention him in his discussion.²⁸ Shortly thereafter, I published a dual biography of Anselm and Robert of Meulan, whom I characterized as the major adversaries in the Anglo-Norman political struggles before and during the Investiture Controversy, seeing Anselm not as Cantor’s Gregorian reformer, but as having his own agenda, and pursuing it to success as a skilled politician on a peer with his rival royal political strategist Robert of Meulan.²⁹ As Niskanen points out, Southern closely followed the accounts of Anselm’s secretary Eadmer, who sought with these accounts to sanctify his hero; thus Southern portrayed Anselm as “not only without ambition, but also [as] positively inadequate”³⁰—even, one might say, as a successful saintly monk, but a failure as archbishop. “Vaughn’s interpretation took into account the possible bias in the source material: medieval prelates were meant to feel distaste for political power, and this *topos* shaped the world view of Anselm and his students, as indeed of all committed churchmen.”³¹

Southern replied to my argument with his second biography of Anselm, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (1990), in which he incorporated some of my observations of Anselm’s political career into his revised account of it, and also defended his dating of L to some twenty years after Anselm’s death, arguing that Anselm’s letters lay gathering dust in Canterbury until William of Malmesbury collected them in connection with his own production of a copy of Anselm’s letters, the manuscript known as M.³² Thus the scholarly focus came to be on L as the critical point, and thus Thomas Krüger’s 2002 book also focused on L, following Schmitt, as Anselm’s own collection.³³

²⁶ Walter Fröhlich, “The Genesis of the Collections of St. Anselm’s Letters,” *American Benedictine Review* 35 (1984), 249–266.

²⁷ Walter Fröhlich, “The Letters Omitted from Anselm’s Collection of Letters,” *Anglo-Norman Studies* 6 (1984), 58–71.

²⁸ Niskanen, *The Letter Collections*, 16; Southern, too, ignored completely Cantor’s book. Both Southern and Fröhlich focused their arguments on Schmitt’s research.

²⁹ Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 1987.

³⁰ Niskanen, *The Letter Collections*, 17.

³¹ Niskanen, *The Letter Collections*, 17.

³² Southern, *A Portrait in a Landscape*, 473–476.

³³ Thomas Michael Krüger, *Persönlichkeitsausdruck und Persönlichkeitswahrnehmung in Zeitalter der Investiturkonflikte. Studien zu den Briefsammlungen des Anselm von Canterbury*, *Spolia Berolinensia* 22 (Weidmann, Hildesheim, 2002), 73–82.

Samu Niskanen has recently finished a remarkable study of the manuscripts of Anselm's letters (on which I have drawn above), seeking to redirect attention from the focus in particular on the Canterbury manuscript Lambeth 59, or L, toward other medieval collections, reconstructing a number of lost, intervening collections that must have preceded L, E, P, N, M, and other surviving manuscripts. This very fine dissertation adds much to our knowledge of the subsequent collection of Anselm's letters, both at Bec and at Canterbury. In particular, Niskanen asserts that at least three collections of Anselm's archiepiscopal letters were made, one probably in September 1100, on Anselm's return from his first exile. This manuscript, which he calls ω , he sees as "not an adequate exemplar," and thus later superseded by L and P. Neither the large and showy L nor the smaller, less decorative P, which are virtually identical textual copies of the collection, are registers—with each letter added by a different hand as it arrived—, but rather mainly copied by one scribe, P more so than L. As P has errors that are not in L, there is no doubt that P is a copy of L. Thus despite L's greater beauty and showiness, P was the later of the two manuscripts. The last section of L is a messy attachment usually called La, in many different hands, with marginalia directing someone to "write this letter here—*hic scribatur*" or "place this letter here—*hic ponatur*," suggesting that L and La, its attachment, were "written with a view to *copying*, not reading the manuscript." Thus Niskanen thinks that L was intended as a work from which other copies were to be made, "and that P is a fair copy."³⁴

Niskanen also thinks that L was a posthumous collection of Anselm's letters, based on the lost exemplar ω , which probably was Anselm's collection. He does think the collection was edited for political reasons in places, both in the Bec collection, N, in connection with Fulk bishop of Beauvais, whom Anselm both supported and criticized in appeals to the pope; and in the Canterbury collection, L, in which, for example, the letters to King Harold's daughter Gunhilda were deliberately omitted because they were embarrassing to Anselm.³⁵ But Niskanen does not believe that editing occurred to project a certain image of church and state, as Cantor believed. Niskanen also sees me as following a "Cantorian" interpretation of the archiepiscopal letters in my study of Anselm's correspondence with women,³⁶ presumably because I discuss Anselm's views of kingship and queenship, and perhaps also because I argue that the collection was meant to portray Anselm as an ideal archbishop, an exemplar to be imitated—and therefore it asserted views of an ideal king and an ideal queen ruling together

³⁴ Niskanen, *The Letter Collections*, 159–160.

³⁵ Niskanen, *The Letter Collections*, 160–168.

³⁶ Niskanen, *The Letter Collections*, 19.

in harmony.³⁷ As a good Benedictine monk, Anselm sought to teach by word and example, and thus his letter collections were a record of both his words and his deeds, and thus the example which he meant to set for the emulation of his disciples and successors, whether as abbots of monasteries, in regard to N, Anselm's prioral and abbatial collection, or as archbishops—and most specifically as archbishops of Canterbury. This view seems to me to be quite different, and broader philosophically and theologically, than Cantor's connection of L strictly to the Investiture Contest. With Niskanen's caveats in mind, it is generally with this more theological view of Anselm's letters that the following chapters will proceed. It is my position that Anselm sought not to distort the historical record by omitting discordant letters from the archiepiscopal collection L, but rather to correct the historical record and bring it more into accord with the ideal image of an archbishop of Canterbury, much like the ideal Platonic image in God's mind. Anselm thought that each of his actions as archbishop, and the actions he permitted to the king, set a precedent that would bind his successors in the future--to the damnation of his soul.³⁸ This must have been his thought as he carefully corrected the historical record for his successors in collecting the letters--and omitting some of them--that eventually took form as Lambeth 59-L. He could not foresee that the monks of Canterbury would collect many of the missing letters and attach them to Lambeth 59, L, as additions, La.³⁹

This book will focus on Anselm's archiepiscopal years, telling his story as much as possible in his own words through his own letters. The primary sources in Part II consist mostly of such representative letters as seem appropriate to illustrate this story. But Anselm's story must be supplemented by the sometimes contradictory account of his secretary and sometime travelling companion Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury whom Anselm first met on his first visit to

³⁷ Sally N. Vaughn, *St. Anselm and the Handmaidens of God: A Study of Anselm's Correspondence with Women* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2000).

³⁸ "I saw many evils in that country which I ought not to have tolerated but which I was unable to correct by my episcopal liberty ... [King William Rufus] demanded from me burdensome services which had not been customary to my predecessors ... I saw the law of God and the canonical and Apostolic authorities overrun by arbitrary usages ... I knew that if I tolerated these things to the end I would confirm such evil usages for my successors to the damnation of my soul." Anselm, Ep. 206. For a discussion of this and similar letters of Anselm, see S. Vaughn, "Anselm of Canterbury's View of God's Law in England", in *Law and Power in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the Fourth Carlsberg Academy Conference on Medieval Legal History 2007*, edited by Per Anderson, Mia Münster-Swendson and Helle Vogt (DJØF Publishing, Copenhagen, 2008), 235–256.

³⁹ It is no accident that almost exactly half of the letters written during the reign of William Rufus were omitted from L. For charts of these letters, both included and omitted, see Vaughn, *St. Anselm and the Handmaidens of God*, pp. 51–52

Canterbury in 1080. In one letter Anselm calls Eadmer “a monk of Bec,”⁴⁰ suggesting that he saw Eadmer as operating well within the Bec tradition, which Lanfranc clearly was establishing at Canterbury with the inclusion of a large number of Bec monks into the Canterbury community, presided over by a Bec monk as prior. It was in this composite community that Eadmer was educated. Curiously, Eadmer wrote two biographies of Anselm. His *Vita Anselmi* covers Anselm’s whole life, from his childhood in Aosta through his Bec years and his Canterbury archiepiscopate. Eadmer’s *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, on the other hand, focuses entirely on Anselm’s archiepiscopal career. As we mentioned above, Southern viewed Eadmer’s texts as eyewitness accounts, and treated them as the straightforward portrayals of a dependable and rather guileless, rational observer. He praises Eadmer for his “lucidity” as opposed to William of Malmesbury’s wit; for his “original observation” as opposed to learning; for “a certain naïve candor” as opposed to “sour invectiveness,” and he judges Eadmer a better man and a better historian than William, although he admits Eadmer distorted the truth from an “exaggerated devotion to the communal interest.”⁴¹ Eadmer served as a kind of spokesman for the Canterbury community, expressing their opinions, ambitions, and thoughts. Yet his closeness to Anselm and his wide travels “raised his mind above the interests of his community.”⁴² But such communities “bred men who looked on the preservation of their rights and interests as a primary duty, more important in the last resort than truth.” Moreover, they accepted relics and wonders on the flimsiest of evidence—or no evidence at all—in contrast to their secular contemporaries. “These were the limitations of the monastic environment.” While Anselm’s mind was superior to Eadmer’s, their minds displayed “common furniture,” sharing the same sympathies, prejudices, and “jealous regard for local privileges.”⁴³ Thus Eadmer was neither straightforward nor guileless, and shared and portrayed many of Anselm’s beliefs. He brought a good deal of art and artifice to his two different texts, and in each he had a particular point to make. In his *Vita Anselmi*, he sought to portray a perfect saint, with all the qualities contemporaries sought in such a person.

In this work, Eadmer stressed Anselm’s saintly proclivities from his childhood to his advent at Bec as blossoming in his monastic vocation with all the best qualities of a monk withdrawn from the world. Eadmer was truthful, I believe—in the way that truth can be told yet with certain unedifying facts omitted; but

⁴⁰ Anselm Ep. 209. We will discuss this statement below, in Chapter 2, and put it into context.

⁴¹ Southern, *St. Anselm and his Biographer*, 274.

⁴² Southern, *St. Anselm and his Biographer*, 275.

⁴³ Southern, *St. Anselm and his Biographer*, 276–277.

Eadmer never hesitated to put the best face on Anselm's activities. Here is an example of how Eadmer could portray Anselm as both a competent—indeed outstanding—provider for the monks, and as a detached, saintly contemplative. Eadmer made clear that as prior and abbot Anselm was responsible for seeing to the monks' necessities for daily life, such as food, clothing, shelter, and so on—and he portrayed Anselm as providing for such needs, but in an interesting way. Anselm was good at business, and was daily bothered by the necessity of such things, but Eadmer says he does not want to dwell on such things, and so will omit them. Nevertheless, scattered through his account are statements of Anselm's role in fulfilling these abbatial responsibilities. Just as Anselm travelled to all Bec's lands in England on his visit there,⁴⁴ he also was obliged to travel to Bec's many priories and manors in Normandy.⁴⁵ He wrote many letters “to obtain for his correspondents those things which their varying business required ... and sent reasoned replies to those seeking his advice about their affairs.” Eadmer preferred to pass over in silence the letters he was required to write for business.⁴⁶ Anselm also never held back from supplying the necessities of others from his own store.⁴⁷ Clearly he maintained such a storehouse—quite systematically, as a responsible abbot should.

From this store also he liberally supplied the needs of guests, and if he did not have enough, miraculously something would turn up—a man wishing to die at Bec, giving his possessions, or a rich donor.⁴⁸ Indeed, Eadmer says Anselm was so good at providing that “he was frequently approached by cellarers, chamberlains, and sacrists who asked for his advice in overcoming the shortages which weighed heavily on their offices.” Anselm told them to trust in God to provide—and miraculously, you would see almost immediately, or soon after, ships arriving from England laden with goods, or some rich man seeking to join the abbey with lots of money to give.⁴⁹ Somehow Anselm always knew that a ship from England was coming, or that a rich man would be coming to Bec. Elsewhere Eadmer says Anselm knew miraculously where to cast a net into the river to catch a big fish.⁵⁰ Eadmer attributes this to Anselm's foreknowledge, but since he also stresses Anselm's reasoned approach to all problems, it could easily also be due to Anselm's planning and just plain native intelligence. He also describes Anselm as having such penetrating insight that he could read

⁴⁴ Eadmer, VA, 54.

⁴⁵ Eadmer, VA, 40.

⁴⁶ Eadmer, VA, 32.

⁴⁷ Eadmer, VA, 40.

⁴⁸ Eadmer, VA, 47–48.

⁴⁹ Eadmer, VA, 46–47.

⁵⁰ Eadmer, VA, 26–27, 28.

people's thoughts and understand their underlying motives. He "so understood the characters of people of whatever sex or age" that he could open to each one the secrets of their hearts. He understood the origins—the very seeds and roots—and the processes of growth of all virtues and vices.⁵¹ With such skills of reason and such insight, Anselm was a man very capable of predicting the future in ordinary ways—reason and insight, not necessarily miraculous except in the eyes of their interpreter.

Anselm had numbers of miraculous visions foretelling the future of events—but Eadmer also says he took an active part—and a highly skilled one—in the prosecution of lawsuits, never allowing anyone to be overreached by any fraud⁵²—even though Eadmer, contradicting himself, has just said Anselm turned everything to do with business over to the care of other Bec brothers. Moreover, the numerous miracles he recounts often lie in Eadmer's interpretation of events, not in the events themselves. Catching a large fish for dinner is not necessarily a miracle, even if Anselm suggested that such a fish could be caught for dinner. Seeing a rabbit stop in the road is not necessarily a miracle. Seeing it as a sign foretelling an event is a conclusion of the observer, not of the rabbit's doing.

Thus sometimes it seems as if Eadmer is writing his life of Anselm in a kind of code: first, he states that Anselm lived a life of contemplation, withdrawal, and teaching, invoking a vision of a perfect monk; immediately thereafter Eadmer describes Anselm's actions as taking an active part in visiting Bec's lands, procuring supplies for the monks or others, or winning lawsuits by his shrewdness, or writing innumerable business letters. Which Eadmer shall we believe? What he says about Anselm, or what he describes Anselm as doing? If we correlate Eadmer's account with Anselm's letters, in which we may observe Anselm's own actions and statements, Eadmer's descriptions of Anselm's actions ring truer. Thus Eadmer's works can supply us with much accurate and valuable information, but must be read with care—for Eadmer was a skilled, creative, intelligent, and artful author.

Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi* also deals with Anselm's archiepiscopal career, and this account shares the same qualities as his preceding account of Anselm's Bec years. Moreover, this account must be correlated with Eadmer's other work, *Historia Novorum*, which deals entirely with Anselm's Canterbury years. Eadmer himself states that the two works must be read together: that one cannot be understood fully without the other, although both can be read separately as complete narratives.⁵³ It is clear from his preface to *Vita Anselmi*

⁵¹ Eadmer, VA, 13.

⁵² Eadmer, VA, 45–46.

⁵³ Eadmer, VA, 2.

that Eadmer wrote *Historia Novorum* first, and then was asked to write another book, *Vita Anselmi*, which described “little-known” events—Anselm’s private life, whereas he implies that *Historia Novorum* describes well-known events of Anselm’s archiepiscopate, Anselm’s public life. What also is extraordinary about these two works is that *Vita Anselmi* was widely read and distributed, with a whole stemma of manuscripts derived from Bec, St. Bertin in Flanders, and Rochester in England. Those from St. Bertin and Bec spread quickly and widely throughout the Continent, while those from Rochester spread more slowly throughout England.⁵⁴ *Historia Novorum*, on the other hand, survives only in one manuscript—Eadmer’s autograph. William of Malmesbury had clearly read it, but *Historia Novorum* did not circulate widely. It was isolated at Canterbury, suggesting that it even might have been a kind of secret history, for Canterbury eyes only. I will discuss below William of Malmesbury’s access to it.

Eadmer’s preface to *Historia Novorum* states that his purpose in writing is “to render some slight service to the researches of those who come after me if they should chance to find themselves involved in any crisis in which the events which I record can ... afford a helpful precedent.” He also thinks that “those who come after us” should not be deprived of the knowledge of events in England during the disputes between Archbishop Anselm and Kings William Rufus and Henry I.⁵⁵ The first half of *Historia Novorum*—Eadmer’s account of the reign of William Rufus, reads like an exciting novel. It is a skillful and vivid rendition of the dramatic events of Anselm’s advent in England, his initial election and forced consecration, and a dramatic court trial in which Anselm asserts his right to name his choice of the two popes contending for legitimacy over the king’s right to choose England’s papal loyalties. Anselm’s ongoing quarrels with Rufus, his barons, and his bishops are vividly portrayed, complete with dialogue, as is his expulsion from England by the crafty king, who becomes more and more evil as the first half of the book progresses. Now, with Eadmer at his side, Anselm must travel to Rome to face a rather powerless pope who thought Anselm’s dilemma the least of his problems. Thus Anselm endured a wretched exile, alleviated only by the fortuitous death of the evil King William Rufus in a hunting accident—which Anselm learned about beforehand from Hugh of Cluny’s dream—a foreknowledge shared by many other churchmen, but not by Anselm. Told of Hugh’s dream, Anselm was on his way back to England even before the official news of Rufus’s death reached him. This account is so dramatic and novelistic as to arouse immediate suspicion. What follows renders it even more suspect.

⁵⁴ Southern, introduction to *Vita Anselmi*, x.

⁵⁵ Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. Martin Rule (Rolls Series, London, 1884), 1–2.

Anselm and Eadmer returned to England, where Anselm saw what Eadmer had been writing, read it, and ordered Eadmer to destroy it. Eadmer did so, but not before making a copy.⁵⁶ This event had to have occurred in 1100, when the nature of *Historia Novorum* changes dramatically. Where the first half is all drama, the second half is mostly documents. Eadmer tells the story of Henry I's reign almost totally with various official documents or letters: from Anselm, from Henry, from Pope Paschal, from Queen Matilda, from Gerard archbishop of York. He links these documents together with short narratives, but the history has a distinctly different character from Eadmer's account of William Rufus's reign. If Eadmer had not preserved the autograph, we might even think it by a different author.

The second half is fully supported by official letters, suggesting the nature of Anselm's objections to Eadmer's account of Rufus's reign. Anselm had apparently taught Eadmer a lesson about the proper writing of history, in his criticism of the first half of *Historia Novorum*, and Eadmer had apparently learned it well. It appears that Anselm was concerned with historical accuracy, rejecting Eadmer's flair for dramatic staging and made-up speeches. The second half is more subdued and less dramatic, and more verifiable. This structure of Eadmer's book suggests that the first half must be rigorously compared to the surviving documents and letters. But even the second half cannot be accepted at face value, for Anselm's surviving letters are so very numerous for the years after 1100 that here comparisons must also be made. Moreover, in assessing the letters omitted from the original version of the Canterbury official collection of Anselm's letters, Lambeth 59 or L, one is struck by the fact that the majority of the omitted letters are from the reign of William Rufus. Interestingly and fortunately, this gives us a valuable and useful way to crosscheck both Eadmer's account and the apparent "official" Canterbury account in Lambeth 59. This will be our task as we sort through the evidence for Anselm's archiepiscopal career.

Eadmer had a keen and profound interest in biography, and we may gain some insight from his additional biographical works. He wrote various *vitae*—of Anselm, of course; but also of early Canterbury archbishops Peter, Bregwin, and Oda, and of St. Wilfrid, the seventh-to-eighth-century bishop of Northumbria. The latter work its modern editors call "a comprehensive historical biography."⁵⁷ Eadmer "demonstrates that he is able to assess his sources, to select materials from them judiciously, and to weave from them a reconstruction of his subject's life and career that reflects his concerns and purpose." As history, however, Eadmer's account tells us little more about the real Wilfrid than Eadmer had

⁵⁶ Eadmer, VA, 150.

⁵⁷ Bernard J. Muir and Andrew J. Turner, eds, Introduction to *The Life of Saint Wilfrid by Eadmer* (University of Exeter Press, Exeter, 1998), xix.

gleaned from earlier *vitae*. What he does tell us about is the political concerns of contemporary Canterbury: “By showing that Wilfrid was a Canterbury saint, and implicitly supportive of all its causes, Eadmer also argued for Christ Church’s suzerainty over the Northumbrian church.”⁵⁸ Let us keep this in mind as we assess Eadmer’s biographies of Anselm.

There is just one more major source to discuss for Anselm’s archiepiscopal career: the work of a man who may well have been Eadmer’s student, the famed and skilled historian William of Malmesbury. St. Anselm, states William, was “the most devoted champion of the right that ever was, than whom no one at the time was more meticulously learned, no one so genuinely spiritual, the father of his country, and a mirror for the whole world.”⁵⁹ That Bec abbot whom God had destined as Canterbury’s archbishop was “a man holy through and through, and meticulously educated. Happy would England be when blessed by such a man!”⁶⁰ Clearly William of Malmesbury had an abounding admiration for St. Anselm of Bec and Canterbury.

Rodney Thomson declared William of Malmesbury “England’s greatest historian after Bede,”⁶¹ a judgment that few dispute (although, as noted above, Southern thought Eadmer a better historian). Yet Thomson admits no one knows where William received his education. William himself says that his own Malmesbury abbey “was not intellectually distinguished,” yet by his own description William studied logic, medicine, ethics, and above all history, which, he says with passion, “adds flavor to moral instruction by imparting pleasurable knowledge of past events, spurring the reader by the accumulation of examples to follow the good and shun the bad.”⁶² In 1988, on the appearance of Thomson’s first edition of his book on William, Marjory Chibnall’s review suggested Anselm’s Canterbury would have been a likely venue for William to have received his schooling,⁶³ and Thomson, in his second edition, suggested in response that “Eadmer would have been an ideal teacher for a young man perhaps already fired by a love of history and of fine Latin writing.”⁶⁴

Thomson offers a few bits of circumstantial evidence for these conclusions. First, William states that he had actually seen Anselm: “He surpassed all men we

⁵⁸ Muir and Turner, Introduction, xxv.

⁵⁹ GR, 1:560–561.

⁶⁰ GP, 1:116–117.

⁶¹ Rodney M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 2nd edn (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2003), back cover description.

⁶² GR 1:150–151.ii. Prologue 1.

⁶³ Marjorie Chibnall, in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 39 (1988), 462–463.

⁶⁴ Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 5.

have seen—*viderimus*—in wisdom and piety.”⁶⁵ Thomson also cites William’s collection of many of Anselm’s tracts and letters, which he copied partly in his own hand into a distinctive manuscript,⁶⁶ Lambeth Palace Library MS 224 (usually called M), containing fifteen of Anselm’s treatises and a unique collection of Anselm’s letters derived from early drafts.⁶⁷ Although it contains only one of Anselm’s prayers, William elsewhere mentions the collection of prayers and meditations, so he probably knew the complete set. In his “Miracles of the Virgin” William also explicitly names and quotes Anselm’s *Dicta*, which Thomson thinks William knew orally from the Canterbury monk Alexander.⁶⁸ Thomson also cites William’s deep and abiding friendship with Eadmer, whom he knew intimately and whose work he quoted extensively. Canterbury’s example might have inspired William to improve Malmesbury’s level of education and its library, Thomson believes. Finally, Thomson offers evidence that other English monks were sent elsewhere than their own abbeys to study with recognized teachers, such as Wulfstan of Worcester even before he became a monk, and Prior Nicholas of Worcester, whom Wulfstan himself sent to study elsewhere.⁶⁹ This evidence, which I have elaborated somewhat from Thomson’s discussion, makes at least a circumstantial case for William’s education at Canterbury.

But some other evidence coming from Anselm’s side of the equation might strengthen this case. Anselm’s Bec showed a rather surprising interest in history and historical writing; Bec students wrote an extraordinary number of biographical and historical works. It appears that the Bec writers defined *vitae* as historical works explicating the “footprints” of Bec men that Bec students were to follow. These *vitae* explicitly consisted of the deeds of these great men—which can then be defined as histories. Lanfranc himself is said to have written a *Res Gestae* for William the Conqueror, now lost; *Vita Herluini*, Bec’s initial history, inspired the successive *vitae* of Bec’s subsequent abbots and great men: Lanfranc, Anselm, William, Boso, Letardus, Theobald, Gundulf, and the Crispin family—all written by Bec monks. Bec monks wrote *vitae* of their priors in Bec’s dependencies of Conflans in France and St. Neots in England. A Bec monk in Rochester wrote a *vita* of Bec monk Bishop Gundulf.

⁶⁵ GP, 1:194–195.

⁶⁶ Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 34, 47–48.

⁶⁷ On this manuscript, see Niskanen, *The Letter Collections*, 56–74. M is arranged quite differently from L: according to the status of each of the recipients, not chronologically.

⁶⁸ Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 47; GP, 1:110–111; De Miraculis B.V.M., 131, as cited in Thomson.

⁶⁹ *Vita Wulfstani*, i. 2–4, as cited in Thompson. See *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, ed. Reginald R. Darlington (The Royal Historical Society, London: 1928).

Anselm himself seems to have cultivated this study of history at Bec, by training Osbern, a Canterbury monk studying at Bec, to seek out and research the lives of several archbishops of Canterbury, including St. Dunstan and St. Elphege—for whom he later wrote *vitae* at Canterbury.⁷⁰ We must also mention Anselm's student, although not a monk of Bec, Guibert of Nogent, who wrote a number of historical works—*Monodies*, and especially *Gesta Dei per Francos*, a history of the First Crusade.⁷¹ Finally, some of Bec's historical literature, other than Eadmer's, appears in William of Malmesbury's tracts along with Canterbury historical literature.

William had clearly either read or heard orally the tradition expressed by *Vita Herluini*, as he condensed it quite accurately in *Gesta Pontificum* in his first account of Lanfranc's arrival at Bec and his subsequent assumption of governance of the Norman church.⁷² William was also familiar with both Lanfranc's *Acta* and his correspondence, advising his readers to look at them for more information.⁷³ His account of Lanfranc's dispute with Thomas I of York takes the Canterbury side, and largely summarizes Lanfranc's own account of it.⁷⁴ Interestingly, William's account of Lanfranc's career is fuller and more detailed than Eadmer's own account in *Historia Novorum*. It includes historical documents such as Lanfranc's letter to Pope Alexander that Eadmer did not include, although such inclusion of documents mirrors Eadmer's own style. William even included what looks like a letter—not in Lanfranc's collected correspondence—from Lanfranc to Thomas stating the essence of Canterbury's case against York in Lanfranc's own words.⁷⁵ Might this possibly be a lost letter of Lanfranc's? Whatever the case, William's account of Lanfranc's pontificate, Lanfranc's friendship for the Canterbury monks, and his affectionate teaching methods mirror more what Eadmer says about Anselm⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Sally N. Vaughn, "Among these Authors are the Men of Bec: Historical Writing among the Monks of Bec," in *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 17: *The Uses of History*, ed. J. Allen Frantzen (Illinois Medieval Association, Chicago, IL, 2000), 1–18.

⁷¹ On Guibert, see Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (Routledge, New York, 2002).

⁷² GP, 1:48–51.

⁷³ GP, 1:50–51, and n. 47.

⁷⁴ GP, 1:50–61.

⁷⁵ GP, 1:84–89.

⁷⁶ GP, 1:100–105. It is curious that neither Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1978), nor H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk and Archbishop* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003), seems to have looked at these passages, perhaps seeing William of Malmesbury as rather remote from Bec, or too late to be trusted. If my argument above is correct, that William must be numbered in the Bec/Canterbury confraternity, William becomes a vital source for Lanfranc.

than the otherwise sparse information Eadmer imparts about Lanfranc. Clearly William's account is unique, dependent neither on *Vita Herluini* nor the later *Vita Lanfranci*. Indeed it shows a softer side of Lanfranc available in no other sources, including the archbishop's own correspondence. William told also of Lanfranc's affability and generosity, of his skill at arguing lawsuits and ferreting out, with the help of Dunstan's spirit, the trickery of his foes. When William turned to his account of Anselm's pontificate, he explicitly drew on Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi* for Anselm's background and on his *Historia Novorum* for the details of Anselm's pontificate.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, scattered throughout are little details not found in either of these works. For example, William reports that Anselm's statement that he would "rather be in hell without sin than in heaven as a sinner" was applauded when he made it, but in William's time needed to be explained.⁷⁸ William recounted an incident in which Eadmer "saved" Anselm from the sin of having eaten raw herring by telling the archbishop that "the salt had drawn out the rawness"⁷⁹—perhaps the first account of someone eating pickled herring.

While William claimed to be summarizing Eadmer's accounts, in many ways he reworked them in his own words into a clearer, more concise story, often with an original take on events. For example, he commented on Anselm's abbatial writings that "Previous writers had aimed to force belief from us by their authority. Anselm used reason to strengthen our belief, demonstrating with invincible arguments that the things which we believe are so and could not be otherwise."⁸⁰ William was also more even-handed than Eadmer, as in the case of Anselm's dispute with William Rufus over who might choose the rightful pope for England, king or archbishop. Where Eadmer only gives Anselm's side, William quite succinctly summarizes Rufus's position⁸¹—to which we will return below, in Chapter 4.

It is clear that William, despite his talent and genius, did not rise to the position of Norman England's greatest historian since Bede in a vacuum, but in the context of a huge wave of historical writing emerging from Bec and flowing over England. It is entirely plausible that William received training in historical research and writing in the Bec/Canterbury tradition, probably from Eadmer—and perhaps even a bit from Anselm himself. For Bec customs were translated to Canterbury, where many Bec monks lived and taught, and they came to think

⁷⁷ For example, he paraphrases and summarizes VA in GP, 1:111–117, continuing and also drawing on HN in GP, 1:117–215, with, as we shall see, interesting additions of his own.

⁷⁸ GP, 1:112–113.

⁷⁹ GP, 1:194–195.

⁸⁰ GP, 1:112–113.

⁸¹ GP, 1:136–137.

of Christ Church Canterbury as a continuation and extension of Bec itself, as we shall see. For Anselm, as we have seen, called Eadmer a “monk of Bec,” and Anselm himself as Bec’s abbot became a monk of Canterbury. Then William would have been part of the Bec/Caen/Canterbury network, and have been trained in the extraordinary interest in and views of history at Bec, that we will discuss in Chapter 2. William would also assume a much larger importance in the story of Anselm’s archiepiscopal career than has hitherto been suspected, if he was indeed trained in the Bec tradition.

William wrote two major works useful to us here, *Gesta regum anglorum*, and *Gesta pontificum anglorum*. The first is a history of the kings of England, and the second is a history of the bishops and archbishops—the pontiffs—of England. William follows Eadmer to a certain extent, and thus had access to *Historia Novorum*, which, as we have said, survives in only a single example, Eadmer’s own copy. Indeed, William mentions Eadmer’s *Historia Novorum* specifically on the first page of the Prologue to *Gesta regum*.⁸² Clearly *Historia Novorum* did not enjoy a wide circulation, whereas *Vita Anselmi* did, surviving, like Anselm’s letters (and also his prayers and meditations), in large numbers of manuscripts. Moreover, whereas Eadmer’s *Historia Novorum* seems to have fallen by the wayside, even though it may well be the official Canterbury account of Anselm’s archiepiscopate, William’s *Gesta Regum* and *Gesta Pontificum* also attained best-seller status, suggesting that William’s account superseded Eadmer’s.

Thus it is our purpose in this book not necessarily to extricate isolated “facts”—to dig through these histories and letters like a gold mine to piece together like a jigsaw puzzle what “really happened,” but to compare the different available accounts, note their variations, and assess the intents of their authors and the kind of story each told. With one exception we have chosen and appended key letters from the key Canterbury collection of Anselm’s letters, Lambeth 59, to represent Anselm’s own account of events, and we will then, in the following pages, compare Eadmer’s and William’s and a few other minor pieces of evidence to come to some conclusions about Anselm’s archiepiscopate.

Our one exception to the use of the Lambeth 59 letters is the first primary source in our collection, a short selection from *Vita Herluini*, a key text from the abbey of Bec. This text is particularly relevant because long before Anselm became archbishop, the monks of Bec and Bec’s abbots thought of themselves as missionaries, first in Normandy, to bring Normandy into the proper Christian fold; and then in regard to England, even before the Norman Conquest. Thus we will begin our story with the Bec sense of its missionary role in the Norman Conquest of England.

⁸² GR, 1:14–15.

Chapter 2

The Bec Background: A Missionary Mentality

One day Anselm, still only Bec's prior, was surprised to find a gold ring in his dormitory bed. Hoping to find out from where the ring had come, he showed it around to many others, who were also surprised, and in the end the ring was sold for the abbey's needs. No one knew anything about it, and

to this day no-one has discovered whence it came or by whom it was brought there But afterwards, when Anselm was raised to the episcopate, there were those who said this had been foretold in the prophetic incident of the ring. We, however simply set forth the things as they happened without embellishment.¹

So Eadmer, in his habitual way, said without claiming to say it, that Anselm's tenure as archbishop of Canterbury was foretold and foreknown, revealed to him while he was still only prior of Bec, but it was only later, as events unfolded, that the prophetic meaning of the gold ring was understood. Nevertheless, in the Bec memory as well as in Eadmer's, Anselm's ascension to the archiepiscopate in England had been foreordained as early as his priorate at Bec, 1060–1079. It is in the Bec traditions and beliefs that we will find the roots of the reform policy that Anselm brought to Canterbury. Although there is a danger in using Bec evidence and rhetoric to demonstrate the significance and role of Bec in the Anglo-Norman state, nevertheless it is the Bec evidence that firmly displays how the Bec monks thought of themselves, their associates in their priories, and their leaders. Moreover, non-Bec sources such as William of Poitiers, Orderic Vitalis, and William of Malmesbury at least partially confirm this Bec self-image—which was one of missionaries set down in a barbarian land (Normandy), whose mission was to convert it and other barbarian lands (Britain).

The abbey of Bec was a new foundation in Normandy, set in the midst of a handful of older Norman abbeys which had largely been refounded by the late tenth-century and early eleventh-century Norman dukes whose Viking ancestors originally had destroyed them. Mont-Saint-Michel, Saint-Wandrille,

¹ Eadmer, VA, 41.

Fécamp, and Jumièges were among the leading Norman abbeys, reformed especially by William of Dijon in 1002, as Bec was founded in 1034–1037. But Bec soon eclipsed them all, as Bec monks came to fill all the major abbatial offices in Normandy, including in this network most of these older Norman abbeys, and its own numerous, newly founded priories.² Of these dependencies, the abbey of Saint-Etienne of Caen—called by the Bec sources “sons of our sons,” and thus seen as a dependency—was foremost, founded by Duke William in 1060, and ruled from that year until his accession to Canterbury in 1070 by Anselm’s archiepiscopal predecessor Lanfranc.

Anselm arrived at Bec as a young, but already educated, layman³ to study with the Italian Lanfranc only a few years before Lanfranc’s departure to Caen. He had come from his home in Aosta, on the alpine border between France and Italy—what was later to become Savoy. William of Malmesbury says that, inspired by God, Anselm realized that “he would ease the burden of his exile” by the link with his country provided by Lanfranc, as well as the spark of letters.⁴ He was at first unsure whether or not he should join Bec’s fraternity, or choose another order such as Cluny, or even a career as a layman. On Lanfranc’s advice, Anselm consulted Maurilius archbishop of Rouen—also an Italian, who advised him to stay at Bec, where he was destined to shine. Lanfranc soon made this brilliant young student Bec’s schoolmaster and prior in his stead, as Lanfranc departed Bec to found and build Saint-Etienne of Caen, populating it at first with Bec monks and sending other new oblates to Bec—and thus to Anselm—for a proper education. Let us note the predominance of Italians connected to Bec, a point to which we will return.

The Bec confraternity considered the Caen monks “sons of our sons,” and thus part of this fraternity.⁵ With the foundation of Caen began a Bec sense that Bec and its related abbeys and priories formed a kind of “order,” important to understand in Bec’s development. During his priorate, Anselm wrote to Prior Helgot of Caen, calling the monks of Saint-Etienne of Caen “our beloved lords

² Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 67, 71, and 76–77 on the *Ordo Beccensis*.

³ Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1969–1980), 2:293–294 says that Anselm arrived at Bec laden with “the treasures of Egypt,” which he identifies as the learning of secular philosophers.

⁴ GP, 1:110–111.

⁵ Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, edited in J. Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1911), 87–110; here at p. 100. For translation, see Sally N. Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1981), 67–86. See also the excerpt from this seminal tract in Part II, 2a, with a new and improved translation. Hereafter VH, with page references to the Robinson edition and the Vaughn translation.

and brothers,”⁶ suggesting that this notion appeared almost immediately on Saint-Etienne’s foundation. Indeed, Lanfranc sent one of the first of the monks of Saint-Etienne, William Bona Anima, future abbot of Caen and archbishop of Rouen, to study under Anselm at Bec “so that he could learn more about the order there—*ut ordinem ibi addisceret*—” because the newly founded abbey of Caen “could not as yet teach others perfectly—*quia novella plantation ipsius loci nondum poterat alios perfecte instruere*.”⁷ Thus the author of the *Vita Lanfranci* had some sense of an *ordo Beccensis*. Lanfranc took with him to Caen the monk Ralph, “who had recently donned the habit of a monk”—surely at Bec, Lanfranc’s departure point, where Ralph must have been schooled as a layman—“but had not yet made his vow,” which he then did at Caen, becoming its first prior.⁸ As abbot of Caen, Lanfranc still considered himself a monk of Bec, obeying Abbot Herluin as “he would Christ” when Herluin ordered him to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury.⁹ Abbot Herluin was his spiritual father, the Church of Bec his mother.¹⁰ When King William asked Abbot Herluin to give him Lanfranc as archbishop to reform England, William was asking “Lanfranc’s own abbot, the only one he obeyed as if he were God” to give up a monk of Bec;¹¹ when Herluin visited Lanfranc in England, Lanfranc submitted himself to Herluin as if Lanfranc were “any other ordinary monk,” repeatedly taking second place to his abbot and yielding obedience to him in all things, so that everyone marveled.¹² When Archbishop Lanfranc visited Bec, “his own monastery” in Normandy, he lived among the monks as one of them, still submitting himself to Abbot Herluin.¹³ He told his successor as abbot of Caen, William Bona Anima, to act according to the advice of Abbot Herluin and Prior Anselm, if he had any doubts about Lanfranc’s advice.¹⁴ To the end, Lanfranc, whether abbot of Caen or archbishop of Canterbury, considered himself a monk of Bec.

⁶ Ep. 48: “Salute dulcem et venerabilem patrem et dominum nostrum, domnum abbatem, et omnes dilectos dominos et fratres nostros, qui vobiscum sunt.”

⁷ *Vita Lanfranci*, in *Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, vol. 150, cols 29–58, here at 38; translation in Vaughn, *Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State*, 87–111, here at 94. Hereafter VL.

⁸ VL, 38, Vaughn translation 94. Prior Ralph accompanied Lanfranc to England, where he became abbot of Battle.

⁹ VL, 41, VH, 100.

¹⁰ VL, 42, VH, 99.

¹¹ VL, 42, VH, 100. Lanfranc submitted with unblemished obedience.

¹² VL, 43, VH, 102, VH, 105.

¹³ VL, 44–45.

¹⁴ *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson, Oxford Medieval Texts (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1979), Ep. 61.

Anselm himself urged the monks of Bec to “always so join [justice] to [grace] that on all sides the order of the monastery—*monasterii ordo*—can be preserved undefiled through righteousness—*inviolata rectitudine servari valeat*.”¹⁵ Thus like the author of *Vita Lanfranci*, Anselm seems to have conceived of an *ordo Beccensis*—a particularly well-ordered way of life through its monastic customs—not to an organization. When he sent Bec monks to populate St. Neots, he wrote to Bec monk Gundulf, now bishop of Rochester,

I commend to your fatherly love ... our brothers and yours whom we are sending to England, that in their every need they can be supported by your aid and guided by your counsel, and that their lives may be carefully examined by you and judiciously praised or corrected.¹⁶

Bec monks always continued to be Bec monks, wherever they went or whatever their new status. On Anselm’s election as archbishop, Gundulf bishop of Rochester wrote ordering the Bec monks to accept the election as God’s will and release Anselm.¹⁷ As the Bec monks prepared to elect a new abbot to replace Anselm, there was a lot of dissension. Bec monk Roger prior of Lessay returned to Bec at Anselm’s request to urge Anselm’s candidate, William of Beaumont, on the monks, who seem to have expected their own prior Baudry to replace Anselm.¹⁸ Thus, with the help of Roger, Anselm asserted his say over the Bec election even after he had left—just as Gundulf asserted his say over Bec affairs in his letter to Bec. While not a formally organized institution like Cluny, with its institutionalized abbot over a galaxy of priories and a formalized government meeting on a regular basis, the *ordo Beccensis* stands out clearly in the consciousness of its members as a confraternity linked together by deep mutual affection to a mode of religious life developed and perfected at Bec, and then spreading outward to the Anglo-Norman world beyond as Bec monks left the mother abbey to govern priories, abbeys, and bishoprics everywhere within it.¹⁹ William of Malmesbury regarded the Bec-reformed monks of Canterbury as ranking with the Cluniacs.²⁰ Clearly the Bec literature reflects a consciousness of an *ordo Beccensis*—although no mention of it occurs in Orderic or in the English chroniclers. William of Malmesbury concentrates on the great men

¹⁵ Ep. 165.

¹⁶ Ep. 91.

¹⁷ Ep. 150.

¹⁸ For the reconstruction of this episode, see Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 138–142.

¹⁹ Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 73–77.

²⁰ GP, 1:104–105.

Lanfranc and Anselm, noting in some detail their careers at Bec as preceding their archiepiscopal service to Canterbury, suggesting that William thought their Bec years important in explaining their archiepiscopal careers.

Anselm was instrumental in forming the elements which came to constitute this Bec sense of its own “order”—a sense that spread with Bec monks to Canterbury. He ruled Bec as prior from 1060 to 1079. On Abbot Herluin’s death in 1078, Anselm was elected abbot and served until his translation to Canterbury in 1093. Thus Anselm’s Bec career spanned more than thirty years—an important prelude to his archiepiscopal career. During this time, he established other dependent abbeys and priories of Bec. These included Lessay, ruled by Bec monk Roger (1080–1106); Cormeilles, ruled by Bec monk William (1094–1109); and Ivry, ruled by Bec monk Durand (c. 1071). Saint-Ouen of Rouen was ruled by Bec/Caen monk Helgot (1092–1112), former prior of Caen; and Saint-Wandrille, Fécamp, and Mont-Saint-Michel themselves came to be ruled by Bec monks, respectively Lanfranc (Archbishop Lanfranc’s nephew), 1089–1091; William of Rots, 1079–1107; and Roger monk of Caen, 1085–1105 (recall that Caen monks were “sons of our sons” to Bec). We might note that each of these Bec abbots came to rule these older Norman abbeys (and most of the priories as well) during Anselm’s abbatiacy, 1079–1093, so that Anselm was instrumental in the extension of Bec’s network of dependencies, begun under Lanfranc. After Lanfranc’s departure for England, also, Bec/Caen monk William Bona Anima (recall that his initial education was at Bec) ruled Saint-Etienne of Caen from 1079 to 1101. Of course, Bec was not unique in establishing this network of abbeys under its influence. One is at once reminded of the Cluniac network that preceded Bec’s foundation, as mentioned above; and the Cistercian network that followed Bec’s development. Clearly Bec lacked the formal constitutional structure of each of these other orders; but, as we have seen, William of Malmesbury could compare the Canterbury monks as reformed by Lanfranc to Cluniacs. And Orderic Vitalis barely mentions Saint-Etienne of Caen in his massive history, nor Lanfranc’s career there, suggesting that he might have thought of it as part of Bec.

Other Bec priories included Poissy (before 1094); Bonne-Nouvelle (Notre-dame du Pre, 1063); Saint-Philibert, in the Risle valley near Bec (1097); Saint-Ymer, near Lisieux (1073); and Saint-Laurent d’Envermeu, near Rouen (1100),²¹ to name only the Norman abbeys and priories that Bec or Caen monks came to rule before Anselm departed Bec for England. Thus, by the time Anselm was elected England’s archbishop, Bec comprised something of an “order,” with

²¹ For this list see A.A. Porée, *Histoire de l’Abbaye du Bec*, 2 vols (Hérissey, Evreux, 1901), 1:103; and Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 71. For William of Rots, see OV, 2:292.

many dependencies scattered throughout Normandy—and Lanfranc had brought its reform to England. But even while Anselm was still only prior of Bec, teaching the students who flocked to study with him there, his reputation spread not only throughout Normandy but also “throughout France, Flanders, and all the neighbouring lands ... [it] even crossed the sea and England was filled with it.”²² Bec had a distinctive collection of customs and practices, instituted by its founders Herluin and Lanfranc, and developed by Anselm in his thirty-some years at Bec, that were part of Anselm’s fame as it spread.

Bec had been founded by a converted knight, Herluin, portrayed later by Bec monk Gilbert Crispin abbot of Westminster, his biographer, as the iconic example for all Bec monks, whose footprints must be followed. Crispin shows the knight Herluin as slowly, step by step, intuiting that the pinnacle of life he had seemed to reach as the foremost knight in Normandy was not the highest summit one could attain—that there was more to life than just knightly fame and glory.²³ Then, step by step, Herluin descended that pinnacle to valleys of ignorance but yearning for a better life—the life of a monk. He became disheveled, unkempt, alienated from courtly life. But nowhere in Normandy, Crispin says, could a true model for monastic life be found. All the Norman abbeys were corrupt and undisciplined. All the Normans still lived like the old Danes: i.e., they were like barbarians. Herluin must learn purely by intuition what path he must follow. And he did so, retreating into the wilderness, working with his hands, eating simple food that he had grown himself by day and by night teaching himself to read, write, and sing the psalms. So he knew at least what the monastic basics were, and he set out to find out how to apply them properly with only his intuition and good will as his guides. Sometimes God would show him the way with a good example to follow—as when he saw a devout monk praying alone in the midst of his raucous, undisciplined colleagues, laughing, fighting, and slugging each other in church—and took it as a sign of guidance and inspiration from God.

²² Eadmer, VA, 39–40.

²³ I am going to summarize below the story of Herluin and Lanfranc in *Vita Herluini*, in Latin in Anna Sapir Abulafia and G.R. Evans, *The Works of Gilbert Crispin* (Oxford University Press, for The British Academy, London, 1986), 183–212; and in English in Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State*, 68–86. I have argued elsewhere that *Vita Herluini*, at first in an oral form, was a kind of textbook for the students and monks of Bec. Sally N. Vaughn, “Anselm of Bec: The Pattern of his Teaching,” in *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000–1200*, ed. Sally N. Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein (Brepols, Turnhout, 2006), 99–128. Gilbert Crispin, its author, states clearly in the first paragraph that it is a record of the deeds of Bec’s great men whose footprints the men of Bec should follow.

One truth Herluin intuited was that the place he had chosen to found his abbey lacked the resources for monks—woods, animal populations, and a reliable water source. He then moved the abbey to some lands on a river or stream—the modern site of Bec (a Norse word for stream)—where he had some watermills in his ancestral possession. He then either bought or acquired full ownership of these and other mills, leading to a surge in Bec’s prosperity, and showing his knack for business based on the commercial value, so it seemed, of Bec’s new water mills. The other skill Herluin brought to Bec was expert knowledge and ability in Norman law, for which he was renowned in the Norman courts; and this also he applied to increasing Bec’s prosperity, winning lawsuits on its behalf. But despite its new wealth, Bec was still the poorest, most abject abbey in Normandy. Herluin seemed also to have had an archaic, very strict Rule, which he applied with vigor to the few monks under him, clearly confining them strictly to the abbey—with the consequence that they fled the abbey through the privy. Clearly Herluin had reached the limits of his intuition. But he had established, with his founding footprints which all Bec monks were to follow, Crispin says, the principles of introspection and self reflection, a kind of reasoning, to gain insights into God’s plan; of the usefulness of business enterprises such as mills; and of the necessity of legal skills to defend the abbey.

Then, providently, along came Lanfranc, a famous teacher, lawyer, and scholar, wishing to join the abbey precisely because it was the poorest, most miserable monastery in Normandy, which would fulfill a vow he had made to God. Interestingly, William of Malmesbury says that Lanfranc examined all the abbeys of Normandy and chose Bec because of its poverty and monastic devotion.²⁴ Herluin intuited that Lanfranc, a famous lawyer and scholar, had been sent by God to show Bec and its abbot the way. It is clear from the story as Gilbert tells it that Lanfranc really took over the abbey, bringing with him the more moderate Benedictine Rule, applying it, and making Bec the best-disciplined abbey in Normandy. Herluin, clearly, thereafter became a pious figurehead, revered but ineffectual.

Lanfranc may well have felt an affinity to Herluin’s skill at law, for Gilbert Crispin’s *Vita Herluini* emphasizes it, as well as Lanfranc’s fame as an Italian lawyer and master of the liberal arts. After a period of deep introspection and Bible study, cultivating his new fields of the Bible, on Herluin’s model, it was Lanfranc, as prior, who opened a school and made Bec famous and prosperous, and Lanfranc who attracted students, both clerics and the lay sons of military men, from all over Normandy and Northern Europe—including Anselm. Like Herluin’s mills, Lanfranc’s “business” enterprise enhanced Bec’s prosperity.

²⁴ GP, 1:50–51.

And it was Lanfranc who set out to replace the pitifully poor little church Herluin had built—which indeed collapsed—with an edifice so grand that Herluin, quite intimidated by the prospect, retreated even further into Bec’s background.²⁵ I have argued elsewhere that this tract, initially in an oral tradition, served as a textbook to train Bec’s monks in the Bec ways.²⁶ Thus Lanfranc can be read as following Herluin’s example in his introspection, business enterprise, church construction, and legal skills.

It was at this point in Gilbert’s story that Herluin had a vision that clarified God’s plan for Bec, and revealed God’s purpose for Bec’s monks. In this dream Herluin saw that in an orchard he had a wonderful apple tree with wide-spreading branches and delicious and abundant fruit. But King William, the duke of Normandy who had just conquered England, came and asked for this tree to be transferred to his own garden. The abbot resisted his request, but the king, as his lord, overruled him and took the tree away. Nevertheless the roots remained, and from them sprouted forth many shoots that soon grew into tall trees. Gilbert Crispin declared that this dream subsequently was fulfilled, by interpreting it to mean that the abbot’s orchard was the church of Bec, and Lanfranc its greatest tree that sustained “not only Bec but all other churches throughout the fatherland (Normandy) by his example and instruction.” Herluin had this dream well before King William’s messengers came to Herluin seeking to appoint Lanfranc (now abbot of Caen but still a Bec monk under Bec’s abbot), as archbishop of Canterbury in England—but it was the coming of these messengers that the dream foretold. Moreover, through the messengers, King William sought Lanfranc to reform the church of his new domain of England, “to travel across the sea to transmit the principles of sacred religion to the English.” This statement clearly expresses William’s belief—or at least Gilbert Crispin’s belief—that conquered England lacked the principles of sacred religion.

In Gilbert’s account of Bec’s memory of events, the proof of the wisdom and efficacy of this plan was indeed the transformation of England under Lanfranc’s archiepiscopal hand—the fruit Lanfranc bore in England:

²⁵ For the story above, see VH in Abulafia and Evans, *The Works of Gilbert Crispin*, 183–212 for the Latin; and also in Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, 87–110 for the Latin, or Vaughn, *Abbey of Bec*, 77–86 for the English. See also VL, for an expanded version of this story, written some years after VH and based upon it.

²⁶ Vaughn, “Anselm of Bec: The Pattern of his Teaching,” 99–128. For Lanfranc’s teaching at Saint-Etienne, Caen, see Priscilla D. Watkins, “Lanfranc at Caen: Teaching by Example,” in *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000–1200*, ed. Sally N. Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein (Brepols, Turnhout, 2006), 71–98.

How great was his fruit afterward there [in England], was shown to the rejoicing abbot [Herluin] by the renewed state of church institutions far and wide; the order of the monks, which had dissolved totally to secular dissolution, he reformed with the discipline of the best-approved monasteries; clerics were coerced under canonical rule. The people, when their empty and barbarous rites had been forbidden, were led toward the right pattern of believing and living.²⁷

Lanfranc had rescued and restored the “barbarous” English church, which Gilbert and the Bec monks—at least later—saw as utterly dissolute and mired in secular worldliness. Lanfranc reformed the monasteries by applying the “discipline of the best—approved monasteries”—can we doubt that this was Bec discipline? Monks were made to live under lawful rules, and the people’s “barbarous rites” were transformed into “right believing and right living”—where “right—*rectam*” can also mean lawful, or under law.

But Lanfranc, before King William called him to England, had sustained “not only Bec but all other churches throughout the fatherland (Normandy) by his example and instruction.” There is evidence that as duke, William had appointed Lanfranc as a kind of overseer or governor of the churches of Normandy. The Bec sources state this clearly: both *Vita Herluini* and *Vita Lanfranci* state that Duke William chose Prior Lanfranc “as his counselor in administrating the business of the whole province.”²⁸ This claim is substantiated by William of Poitiers, chronicler of Duke William’s conquest of England, writing in about 1077, who states that the duke admitted Lanfranc into his most intimate friendship; Duke William “venerated him as a father, respected him as a teacher, and loved him as a brother or a son. To [Lanfranc] he committed the guidance of his soul, to [Lanfranc] he entrusted the care of presiding, as though from a watchtower, over all the ecclesiastical orders throughout Normandy.”²⁹ That these occurrences took place before the Conquest seems clear from William of Poitiers’ comparison of Lanfranc’s counseling of Duke William to the encouraging prophecies of the

²⁷ For this quote, and the account of Herluin’s dream preceding it, see Part II, 2a, below, Herluin’s Dream from *Vita Herluini*.

²⁸ VH, 97; cf. Vaughn, *Abbey of Bec*, 76; VL, 34; see also 39, which states that Duke William cherished Lanfranc in sincere friendship. Vaughn, *Abbey of Bec*, 91 and 95.

²⁹ William of Poitiers, *The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. and trans. R.H.C. Davis and Marjorie Chibnall, Oxford Medieval Texts (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1998), 84–85. VL, 41 almost repeats this statement, adding that from the watchtower Lanfranc oversaw both Normandy and England; cf. Vaughn, *Abbey of Bec*, 97. On these parallels, see Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 40–41.

monk John to the Emperor Theodosius before this late Roman emperor's "battle against tyrants."³⁰

Orderic provides occasional glimpses of Lanfranc so overseeing the churches of Normandy in the 1050s and early 1060s. In 1056 Lanfranc visited Saint-Evroul, Orderic's abbey, along with Maurilius archbishop of Rouen and Ansfrey abbot of Préaux and others, as ducal representatives to judge the case of Thierry abbot of Saint-Evroul, a reformer whose policies had incited the monks to revolt. The ducal panel ruled in favor of Abbot Thierry.³¹ In 1060 Lanfranc, along with Ansfrey abbot of Préaux and others, unnamed, advised Duke William to appoint Osbern prior of Cormeilles as abbot of Saint-Evroul. Once again the monks of Saint-Evroul revolted, and Mainer, their claustral prior, traveled to Bec specifically to approach Lanfranc to protest and suggest the possibility of another abbot.³²

Retrospectively Gilbert Crispin, writing in 1109, could envision Lanfranc as having reformed the Norman church—ruled by barbarous men like Archbishop Mauger, Duke William's uncle, who still lived like the old Danes, feasting in luxury and wealth, in a still barbarous land—as a prelude to launching what he described as a monumental reform of the "barbarous" church of England. Duke William deposed Mauger, choosing instead the Italian Maurillius, who worked closely with Lanfranc, advising Anselm to profess as a monk of Bec. Thus the reform of Normandy seems to have been overseen by a team of Italian reformers—who may well have seen themselves as missionaries in a barbarian land.

Just after the Conquest, in 1067, Archbishop Maurilius died, and the nobles and bishops of Normandy sought Lanfranc as his replacement as the metropolitan bishop of Normandy. But Lanfranc refused this office, so Duke William chose John bishop of Avranches in his place, commissioning Lanfranc to go to Rome "in order to seek permission to carry this out in conformity with church law."³³ Orderic says that Lanfranc "strove with all his might" to have John raised to the archiepiscopate,³⁴ suggesting that Lanfranc recommended him to Duke William, as part of his oversight of the Norman Church. So Lanfranc set out for Rome very cheerfully, obtaining "the decision he desired for the churches" from his probable former Bec student Pope Alexander II,³⁵ from whom he received both

³⁰ William of Poitiers, 86–87. See also Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 36–38.

³¹ OV, 2:66.

³² OV, 2:96.

³³ VL, 40; Vaughn, *Abbey of Bec*, 95–96.

³⁴ OV, 2:200–201.

³⁵ For evidence for Alexander's study at Bec, see Eadmer, HN, 11, which quotes Pope Alexander himself; VL, 49, with a similar quote (Vaughn, *Abbey of Bec*, 103, quoting Alexander as saying "I was his student at Bec, where I sat at his feet together with other listeners"). GR, 537.

John's pallium and papal license for his preferment, which he brought back to Normandy amidst great rejoicing.³⁶ William of Poitiers says that this John, son of Count Raoul of Ivry, "was distinguished by his learning even while he was a layman,"³⁷ suggesting that John may well have been one of the lay students under Lanfranc, perhaps even Pope Alexander's schoolmate at Bec.³⁸ Duke William had plucked John out of his secular life to make him bishop of Avranches in 1060, simultaneous to Lanfranc's appointment as abbot of Saint-Etienne of Caen, suggesting Lanfranc's possible influence in this appointment too.³⁹

It is significant also that probable Bec student Pope Alexander II both gave the Conqueror the papal banner to conquer England,⁴⁰ and ordered Lanfranc to become England's first Norman archbishop of Canterbury.⁴¹ But even before Alexander ordered Lanfranc to go to Canterbury, the new King William seems to have had him in mind. William of Poitiers says that immediately after his coronation King William "was considering placing in the metropolitan see a man of holy life and great renown, a master in expounding the word of God who would know how to furnish a suitable model for his suffragan bishops and how to preside over the Lord's flock, and who would wish to procure the good of all with vigilant zeal."⁴² Thus King William was intent on reforming the English church even before he knew very much about it, suggesting that he, too, shared the Bec perception that the English church was somehow corrupt—and he had Lanfranc in mind to reform it.

In England, as we have seen, Crispin reports that Lanfranc reformed "the order of monks, which had totally lapsed into unclerical dissoluteness," to conform to

For a discussion of these texts and modern scholarship on Alexander, see Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 33–34.

³⁶ VL, 40; Vaughn, *Abbey of Bec*, 95–96; cf. OV, 2:200–201.

³⁷ William of Poitiers, 90–91 and n. 3, where it is noted that John was the author of an important liturgical treatise, *De officiis ecclesiasticis* (OV, 2:200, n. 2).

³⁸ Although conjectures about the lay students of Bec cannot be proved, because they did not make professions at Bec, there is at least circumstantial evidence for them from their backgrounds and associations with Bec personnel and policies.

³⁹ William of Poitiers, 90–91, says that "the bishops wished to have [John] consecrated as their colleague."

⁴⁰ GR, iii.238.9, p. 449; cf. iii.241, p. 455.

⁴¹ Eadmer, HN, 10.

⁴² William of Poitiers, 160–161. The modern editors remark that this anticipates the appointment of Lanfranc as archbishop in 1070, suggesting that right after the Conquest William had Lanfranc in mind to reform England.

the discipline of the best-approved monasteries. Clerics were coerced under canonical rule. The people, when their empty and barbarous rites had been forbidden, were led toward the right pattern of believing and living.⁴³

Crispin thus saw Lanfranc's role as a missionary one and a teaching one, to reform a barbarous church and to teach its ignorant people to live according to the laws of the church, suggesting a parallel to St. Augustine of Canterbury, whose achievements Bede had so gloriously and so famously chronicled. Crispin's account portrays Bec teacher Lanfranc first as a missionary who has reformed the Norman church, and then as a missionary who was chosen to reform the English church.

That Bec's teachers saw themselves in this way is reflected in both Lanfranc's and Anselm's letters, in the chronicles, as well as in the Bec biographies which we have seen. Indeed, Lanfranc himself reports that Pope Alexander sent two legates to Normandy who "assembled the bishops, abbots and magnates" there and publicly commanded Lanfranc to "assume the government of the church of Canterbury." Publicly, too, Lanfranc protested that he did not know the language; moreover, the British "races were barbarous," which protest all assembled ignored.⁴⁴ Alexander's order and Lanfranc's reluctance and protestations of British barbarity roughly parallels and echoes Pope Gregory the Great's order to a reluctant St. Augustine to go to Canterbury, as chronicled in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.⁴⁵ Lanfranc would later pull out Bede's history to use as a law text in a court trial against Bec student Thomas archbishop of York to establish the rights of Canterbury, as Lanfranc recorded in careful detail.⁴⁶ In 1073 he told Prior Anselm that England's people were sated in sin:

This land of ours is daily shaken by so many disasters, it is polluted with so much adultery and other filthy behavior that there is virtually no part of society in

⁴³ VH, 100.

⁴⁴ Lanfranc, Ep. 1.

⁴⁵ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1969; reprinted 1972 and 1979), 68–73, in which Gregory orders Augustine, with several more God-fearing monks, to preach to the English. On their way, in terror of such a barbarous, fierce, and unbelieving nation whose language they did not understand, they sent Augustine back to Rome to refuse to go. Augustine begged Gregory humbly for permission to give up the dangerous mission, but Gregory wrote ordering them to finish what they had begun, and to obey their bishop Augustine. Gregory also enjoined the archbishop of Arles, in France, to support and help Augustine.

⁴⁶ Lanfranc, Epp. 3 and 4, a letter to Pope Alexander recapitulating the whole lawsuit and court case. Lanfranc's opponent in the case, Archbishop Thomas of York, was himself a student of Bec who, using Lanfranc's own principles, endeavored to secure his archiepiscopal rights for York.

which a man either thinks of his soul's welfare or desires even to listen to the wholesome doctrine of his progress towards God.⁴⁷

Lanfranc and Thomas repeatedly suggested the barbarity of “these remote and barbarous people,”⁴⁸ whose rites Lanfranc implied included using cattle bones to ward off disease, casting lots, and telling fortunes.⁴⁹ Anselm himself wrote to Bec monk Maurice, sympathizing with him that he had to live in England among unknown and foreign people,⁵⁰ and later, as archbishop, characterized England as corrupt in a letter to Pope Paschal: “Often it is necessary to relax something from the apostolic and canonical statutes so as to compromise, and especially in a kingdom in which nearly all things are corrupt and perverse, so that scarcely anything is able to be done following ecclesiastical statutes.”⁵¹ Now we modern historians all know that the pre-Conquest Anglo-Saxons were not at all such barbarians. After all, St. Dunstan had reformed the English Church only a century before.⁵² Why did Lanfranc and Thomas insist they were? It seems to me that Lanfranc is rather insisting on his own missionary parallel with the missionary actions of St. Augustine of Canterbury—who did indeed start the conversion of pagans, under Ethelbert of Kent, a sympathetic king who might be seen as a parallel to King William.⁵³ Nevertheless, William of Malmesbury confirms the Bec perception that England needed to be reformed. He describes the monks of Canterbury as “hardly to be distinguished from lay persons”—wasting time hunting, straddling “the back of the foaming steed,” shaking dice, drinking deeply, dressing elaborately, and eating well. They did not know the meaning of frugality. “You might, from the size of their staff, have thought them consuls rather than monks.” Their one virtue was celibacy. Lanfranc, with his careful and tactful teaching, “withdrawing first one thing and then another at intervals,” led them gradually to the right path⁵⁴—much as Herluin had progressed step by step from one realization of truth to another. From Canterbury, Lanfranc extended his reform of monks throughout England: “what saints had begun with earnest benevolence in the time of King Edgar, Lanfranc would not allow to be upset now.” Lanfranc was building upon St. Dunstan’s and King Edgar’s reform

⁴⁷ Lanfranc, Ep. 18.

⁴⁸ Lanfranc, Ep. 12, Thomas to Lanfranc.

⁴⁹ Lanfranc, Ep. 11.

⁵⁰ Anselm, Ep. 60.

⁵¹ Anselm, Ep. 223, printed and translated in Part II, 2c, below.

⁵² On Dunstan, see GP, 33–41. Dunstan was archbishop of Canterbury 959–988.

⁵³ Eadmer saw St. Dunstan and King Edgar and Lanfranc and King William as parallel pairs of kings and archbishops: HN, 3, 12.

⁵⁴ GP, 1:104–105.

of England. And he installed monks from Bec to effect that reform—Paul at St. Alban’s and Gundulf along with fifty monks at Rochester Cathedral. And, as Dunstan and his saints worked under a King Edgar who “smiled on them,”⁵⁵ so Lanfranc worked well with King William. To Lanfranc’s wisdom “the king had made himself subservient, and thought he should reject no course of action which Lanfranc recommended.”⁵⁶ Thus Lanfranc, following the examples of St. Augustine and King Ethelbert and St. Dunstan and King Edgar, set an example of working side by side with King William that Anselm, as Lanfranc’s successor, would endeavor to follow, as we shall see.

Herluin’s dream also foretold that Lanfranc would reform England through his talented students nurtured in Herluin’s garden, who were like olive plants, “thinned out from below, strengthened in their higher reaches, and filled with the juicy richness of God’s love.” From Bec they emerged to “strengthen the souls of others through their words and good precedents,” strengthening, sustaining, and fostering others “to the highest increase of virtue.” Herluin also saw many “sons of his sons,” the Caen monks “adopted” for the same work, spreading out to “the furthest nations.”⁵⁷ But England was foremost in Bec eyes.

Like Augustine of Canterbury, Lanfranc brought many monks to England with him—mostly Bec or Caen monks. Later, Anselm brought even more. As Crispin tells us,

From the roots that remained of that large tree in his own garden, [Herluin] ... afterwards saw that certain sprouting twigs had also grown into tall trees. That is, many undertook a great increase of good works through his instructions. Truly, whatever good fruit exists from that sowing has been in the monastery of Bec, or has come from it. The tree richest in fruit was the venerable Anselm⁵⁸

Crispin saw Bec as a nursery of good men doing good works, admiring Anselm’s character, eloquence, justice, and uprightness. Abbot William of Corneilles was “outstandingly cultivated and learned.” Henry, a “deacon” of Canterbury, then abbot of Battle, was “well instructed in all the ecclesiastical disciplines.” Hernost and Gundulf, successive bishops of Rochester, were “trees heavily laden with abundance of good works.” This great stock of Bec students, “noble and

⁵⁵ GP, 1:106–107.

⁵⁶ GR, 1:496–497.

⁵⁷ VH, 103.

⁵⁸ VH, 103.

excellent persons, clerics as well as laymen, gathered there from many parts of the world, reached into the hundreds.”⁵⁹

Bec monks and their Caen sons had begun to move to England as priors, abbots, and bishops under Lanfranc, along with monks of Bec’s other dependencies.⁶⁰ Thomas, a Bec monk, was already archbishop of York (1070–1101) when Lanfranc arrived. Warin, a monk of Bec’s dependency of Lyre, was abbot of Malmesbury from 1070 to 1091; Lanfranc’s nephew Paul, monk of Caen, was abbot of St. Albans from 1077 to 1093.⁶¹ Bec monk Hernost, formerly prior of Saint-Etienne of Caen, became bishop of Rochester in 1076,⁶² and, on his almost immediate death, Bec monk Gundulf succeeded him 1076–1101.⁶³ Bec monk Henry prior of Christ Church Canterbury 1074–1096, was both a monk of Bec and of Canterbury simultaneously, and then became abbot of Battle, 1096–1102.⁶⁴ Bec monk Gilbert Crispin became abbot of Westminster, 1087–1117.⁶⁵ Bec monk Richard was abbot of St. Werburgh’s Chester 1092–1117.⁶⁶ Bec/Caen monk Thurstan was abbot of Glastonbury 1077–1082, and Bec/Caen monk Herluin followed him as abbot of Glastonbury 1082–1118.⁶⁷ Bec/Caen monk Walter was abbot of Evesham 1077–1086.⁶⁸

Richard, Henry, and other Bec monks were installed at St. Neots. Meanwhile, Bec monks Gundulf, Warin, Herluin, Hernost, Albert (the physician, a lay student who followed Lanfranc from Caen to England, and who later became a monk of Bec),⁶⁹ Maurice, Lanfranc’s nephew Lanfranc, and Richard all followed

⁵⁹ VH, 103. See Sally N. Vaughn, “The Students of Bec in England,” in *Saint Anselm of Canterbury and his Legacy*, ed. Giles E.M. Gaspar and Ian Logan, Durham Publications in Medieval and Renaissance Studies (Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies: Toronto, 2012), 76–98, for a list of all the students of Bec who went to England.

⁶⁰ Anselm wrote prolifically to these Bec monks, especially during his years as prior.

⁶¹ Anselm, Ep. 80. Paul, Lanfranc’s nephew, had been a monk of Saint-Etienne Caen.

⁶² Anselm, Epp. 9, 53.

⁶³ Anselm, Epp. 4, 7, 16, 28, 34, 41, 51, 59, 68, 78, 91, 107, 141.

⁶⁴ Anselm, Epp. 5, 17, 24, 33, 40, 50, 58, 63, 67, 73, 93, 110, 190.

⁶⁵ Anselm, Epp. 84, 106, 130, 142.

⁶⁶ Anselm, Ep. 96.

⁶⁷ Anselm, Epp. 8, 35, 51.

⁶⁸ References to all of these Bec abbots may be found in *Heads of Religious Houses in England and Wales 940–1216*, ed. David Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke, and Vera London (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1972), *passim*. This fine reference work, however, incorrectly lists Abbot Walter of Evesham’s death date as 1104, for Abbot Robert succeeded him in 1086, according to the Chronicle of Evesham; cf. *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*, ed. William Dunn Macray (Longman, London, 1863), 98.

⁶⁹ Anselm, Ep. 36. Albert is mentioned in a number of letters, especially about and to Maurice, who suffered from headaches which Anselm asked Albert to cure. Anselm asked the

Lanfranc to Canterbury and were first installed as Canterbury monks, and then some of them were advanced to bishoprics or abbeys elsewhere in England, as we saw above.⁷⁰ Lanfranc also sent Canterbury monks such as Osbern and his own nephew Lanfranc to study at Bec under Anselm. The Bec dependencies in England such as St. Neots, Ruislip, and Stoke-by-Clare surely had a series of Bec priors. Thus, under Lanfranc, significant numbers of Bec monks crossed to England to join the Canterbury community, and then to spread out throughout England in some of its bishoprics and abbeys.

Let us pause to consider these Bec monks at Canterbury. Clearly Anselm still considered them Bec monks. But, like Anselm in 1080, they had been received into the Canterbury confraternity. Bec monk Henry was prior of Canterbury, and thus must have been training Canterbury monks in the Bec tradition and education. That such education was going on is suggested by Anselm's adoption of the Canterbury monk Eadmer as his secretary almost at once when he arrived at Canterbury in 1093 (although he first met him at Canterbury in his visit of 1080), and Anselm's later thinking of and calling Eadmer a "monk of Bec."⁷¹ Thus, just as Bec monks considered Caen monks "sons of their sons" and monks of Bec; so, it seems they—or at least Anselm, their abbot who represented and led them—thought of Canterbury monks as part of the Bec confraternity: as Bec monks as well. We seem to be encountering here almost a Bec order, a confraternity spreading over a large number of Norman abbeys and priories with Bec monks at their head, now spreading even wider to incorporate Canterbury and perhaps also the Bec/Canterbury or Bec/Caen/Canterbury monks who came to rule many bishoprics and houses in England. In this way we may see some of Lanfranc's methods of reform: he placed Bec-trained monks over English abbeys and sees who then trained their new flocks in the Bec ways of the "best disciplined abbeys."

But the exchanges between Bec and Canterbury were two-way streets, for Lanfranc sent at least four monks from Canterbury to Bec: Osbern, Holvard, his

monks of Canterbury for a number of medical texts as well. Epp. 43, 60.

⁷⁰ For these Bec monks who went with Lanfranc to England, see Anselm's letters Epp. 1–87, from his years as prior, and thus before 1079, the majority of which are to Lanfranc and to Bec monks or students in England; and Epp. 88–147, some of which continue to be to or from Lanfranc and Bec monks in England.

⁷¹ Anselm, Ep. 209: "Librum quem ego edidi, cuius titulus est *Cur deus homo*, domnus Edmerus, carissimus filius meus et baculus senectutis meae, monachus Becci, cui tantum debent amici mei quantum me diligunt, libenter ecclesiae Beccensi ut filius eius transcribit." ["The book which I have written, the title of which is *Cur Deus Homo*, dom Eadmer, my dearest son and the staff of my old age, a monk of Bec, to whom my friends owe as much as they love me, willingly, as Bec's son, will transcribe for the church of Bec."]

own nephew Lanfranc, and Lanfranc the Younger's traveling companion Wido. Osbern evidently spent a good deal of time at Bec, where Anselm trained him out of his former bad habits into a model Bec monk. It seems to have been from Osbern that Anselm learned that there was both a Life of St. Dunstan and a Rule of St. Dunstan in England, for subsequently Anselm asked for copies of these tracts from Canterbury. He also asked for an accurate copy of Bede for correcting the Bec manuscript.⁷² Anselm loved Osbern like his own soul—as he did any other Bec monk.⁷³ Lanfranc the Younger, Lanfranc's nephew, seems to have been a very close friend of Osbern's, and perhaps to have studied at Bec with him, for Anselm lumps them together in a greeting after they returned to Canterbury.⁷⁴ But elsewhere he addresses both Lanfranc the Younger and Wido as fellow monks and brothers, suggesting that he considered them both monks of Bec.⁷⁵

We know less about Holvard—only that he was a Canterbury monk who studied at Bec.⁷⁶ One suspects there were more Canterbury monks at Bec. Another interesting exchange was medical knowledge. Albert the physician, although not a monk, had followed Lanfranc from Caen to Canterbury. Anselm wrote several letters asking him to cure Bec monk Maurice, now in Canterbury, of his headaches.⁷⁷ Anselm wrote two letters requesting medical manuscripts from England: Galen, a commentary on Galen, and an herbal.⁷⁸ Anselm also wrote a letter to Lanfranc describing in detail the symptoms of Lanfranc the Younger's headaches, which sound like migraines; and Osbern's seizures and fainting spells, followed by vomiting and fever, which might suggest some kind of epileptic seizure.⁷⁹ Clearly Anselm was quite interested in medicine. This might suggest that Holvard might have been a doctor, whom Anselm brought to Bec for his medical knowledge, just as he might have brought Osbern to Bec for the historical knowledge about works on Dunstan and Bede that seem to be connected to Osbern. Indeed, Osbern returned to Canterbury to write a number of historical works, including a Life of St. Dunstan and a Life of St. Elphege, both

⁷² Anselm, Epp. 39, 42; cf. 4, 67.

⁷³ Anselm, Epp. 66, 67.

⁷⁴ Anselm, Ep. 4.

⁷⁵ Anselm, Ep. 75.

⁷⁶ Anselm, Epp. 33, 69, 74.

⁷⁷ Anselm, Epp. 42, 47, 51, 64, 69, 74, 79 were to Maurice. Ep. 36 to Albert.

⁷⁸ Anselm, Epp. 43, 60. See Giles Gasper, "A Doctor in the House? The Context for Anselm of Canterbury's Interest in Medicine with Reference to a Probable Case of Malaria," *Journal of Medieval History* 30 (2004), 245–261.

⁷⁹ Anselm, Ep. 39. Recall that Anselm sent Maurice to Albert in England to cure his headaches. Giles Gasper and Faith Wallis, "Anselm and the Articella," *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion* 59 (2004), 129–174.

archbishops of Canterbury, and the latter saved from consignment to oblivion by Anselm himself.⁸⁰ Osborn wrote both a prose version and a versified version of the *Life of St. Elphege* at Lanfranc's command.

Anselm as schoolmaster and prior, and then as abbot, was responsible for training the future Caen monks Lanfranc brought to Caen, and the Bec monks Lanfranc brought with him to England, as well as the Canterbury monks sent to Bec. Like a good Benedictine, Anselm taught by both word and example. He would have had at hand the oral story of Bec's foundation, with its examples of Bec's founder Herluin and its second founder—at least the founder of Bec's school—Lanfranc. Indeed, we can see Anselm following Herluin's example with great effect, and thereby developing Bec's traditions. Like Herluin and Lanfranc before him, Anselm plunged into intense introspection to intuit knowledge and truth. Anselm's introspection survives for us in the forms of his prayers and meditations—for, unlike Herluin and Lanfranc, Anselm wrote them down. Each of the prayers and meditations consists of what amounts to a mini-theological tract, in which Anselm engages in a dialogue with himself, or in an imagined dialogue with God, the Virgin, St. Paul, or to whomever the prayer is addressed. In each of the prayers, Anselm intuits, through this reasoned dialogue, the great truths he is seeking.

One example of Anselm finding such introspective truth is the series of three prayers to the Virgin. In this series of prayers, I have argued elsewhere, Anselm proceeded step by step to analyze the relationship of the Virgin to God the Father and Jesus the Son. In this procession of reasoned statements, he concluded that at the moment of the Virgin's conception, all creation was transformed, infused instantly with humanity. God himself, along with creation, was infused with this humanity, as he took the form of human flesh—for Father and Son were one. Thus all men became brothers with Christ, and with God—and sons of the Virgin.⁸¹ Another example of this theological dialogue with himself occurs in Anselm's prayer to St. Paul, in which he concludes that Jesus is like a mother, nurturing and protecting her children, and that Paul, a convert who had not known Jesus, is like a foster-mother—analagous to a nurse, or nurturer, or a teacher, who acts as a foster parent to nurture a soul toward God.⁸² It seems to me that this process of introspection and intuition was modeled on the example of Herluin, alone in the wilderness of barbarian Normandy, intuiting his true path to God. What distinguishes both Herluin's introspection and Anselm's introspection is their use of reason to reach their conclusions. In this way, I

⁸⁰ Eadmer, VA, 50–54.

⁸¹ Vaughn, "Anselm and his Students Writing about Love."

⁸² See Vaughn, "Anselm and his Students Writing about Love."

believe, this process is the forerunner to Anselm's famous use of reason in his theological tracts. It also may well be the foundation of Anselm's dialectical methods of teaching, so prominent in Anselm's theological tracts, hailed as the foundation of Scholasticism.⁸³

The Prayers and Meditations were the most popular of Anselm's works, circulating widely. He began writing them as early as the 1060s, they circulated widely in the 1070s, but were only completed as a collection in about 1100—although groups of them had circulated earlier.⁸⁴ The next step Anselm took in his scholarly writing was in 1077, when he wrote the *Monologion*. This was, in fact, another meditation, and the reason he wrote it was to think about the rational basis of faith—demonstrating the truths of Scripture by reason alone. He focused on perhaps the most difficult concept of Christianity, the Trinity, one God in three persons, aiming his description of it in part at the total unbeliever. But, according to Hopkins, Anselm did not demonstrate soundly the rationale for belief in the Trinity. Rather, he described its logic through “various analogies and similarities from the domain of human experience which tend to suggest a relationship of three-in-one,” hoping that, through these patterns, “the human mind may come to glimpse ... the rationale inherent in the Godhead.” In the preface to both the *Monologion* and *Proslogion*, he wrote that he had attempted “to answer, on behalf of our faith, those who, while unwilling themselves to believe what they do not understand, deride others who do believe.”⁸⁵ Thus, it appears, Anselm was writing at least partly for the unconverted, suggesting that he was seeing himself at least partly as fulfilling a missionary role in his first theological writings. Richard Sharpe has found that the Bec brothers immediately made copies of *Monologion*, each for himself. Thereafter, it was extensively copied, which represents publication.⁸⁶ Thus this first theological tract met with widespread excitement and popularity. It may well be that, with their sense of acting as missionaries in a barbarian land, the Bec brothers immediately focused on not only the intellectual adventure Anselm presented for them, but also the usefulness of such arguments. This opens the question of exactly who these unconverted people might have been—a question beyond the scope of this paper, but interesting to contemplate. The obvious answer is the Normans surrounding Bec, who “still lived like the old Danes.”

⁸³ Alex J. Novikoff, “Anselm, Dialogue, and the Rise of Scholastic Disputation,” *Speculum* 86(2) (April, 2011), 387–418. Novikoff here argues that Lanfranc also taught his students dialectic, from which practices Anselm developed his own extensive use of it.

⁸⁴ Sharpe, “Anselm as Author,” 14–15, 22.

⁸⁵ See Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 38; 90–91, and 90 n. 1 for quotation.

⁸⁶ Sharpe, “Anselm as Author,” 15.

Anselm followed *Monologion* almost immediately, in 1078, with the *Proslogion*, the so-called ontological argument which proved the existence of God through reason alone. Here, Anselm made his famous argument against the Fool who said in his heart “There is no God.” And here he made the famous statement of *credo ut intelligam*—I believe so that I might understand. As Jasper Hopkins explains, he made this argument for the believer not in order to defend his faith as if he were about to lose it, but “in order to comprehend it and advance it.” For the unbeliever, on the other hand, it would independently prove the existence of God.⁸⁷ Thus like the *Monologion*, the *Proslogion* was aimed at least partly toward the unbeliever in need of conversion—a kind of missionary document, as Anselm’s preface to both tracts together—the form in which they circulated—makes clear. Although Anselm had sent *Monologion* to Lanfranc for his approval and suggestions—which he in fact did not follow, even though he dedicated *Monologion* to Lanfranc—Anselm had sent both *Monologion* and *Proslogion* to Hugh archbishop of Lyons under different titles, and it was at the urging of Hugh that he published them. He explains in the preface to *Proslogion* that *Monologion* means an inner conversation, while *Proslogion* means a conversation addressed to someone.⁸⁸ This seems to me to show how Anselm derived the idea for these reasoned treatises, as well as the idea for his Prayers and Meditations, from the intuitive examples of self-contemplation from Herluin’s example. Like Herluin’s careful step-by-step progress, they led along the path of discovery of God and his plan.

Anselm went on to write a series of works for his students after he became abbot. First, he wrote *Quomodo grammaticus sit substantia et qualitas* (whether *grammaticus* may be both substance and quality), in about 1080. This text has always been taken as a text on grammar for his students. Then he wrote three related texts, all in the 1080s, *De veritate* (On Truth), *De libertate arbitrii* (On Free Will), and *De casu diaboli* (On the Fall of the Devil), which he published together with a collective preface. The preface alludes to widespread unauthorized copying of these texts before they were finished, showing how quickly in demand his works were, and how eagerly students sought them.⁸⁹ In *De veritate*, written in dialogue form, he argued for the eternal nature of truth, which is in the essence of all things, identical with God’s essence and with rightness.⁹⁰ Thus it is a kind of continuation of *Monologion* and *Proslogion*, considering and defining the nature of God.

⁸⁷ Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 40–41.

⁸⁸ Sharpe, “Anselm as Author,” 17–19; quotation from preface to *Proslogion* at 19.

⁸⁹ Sharpe, “Anselm as Author,” 20–21.

⁹⁰ Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 127–130, 135–137.

In *De libertate arbitrii*, also written as a dialogue, he argues that man has free will, in the context of having two forms of will: “one by which it is disposed to will what is beneficial, and another by which it is disposed to will uprightness.” The first “is intrinsic to the human soul and therefore can never be lost,” while the second “is lost to fallen man and can only be regained through the gift of God.” The first type of will is inherent in all humans. Even when one chooses evil, he has in mind to seek something beneficial in it. But true freedom of choice is “the ability to keep uprightness of will for its own sake”—that is, the power of choosing rightly. One sins by choosing wrongly freely even though one possesses the power of choosing rightly.⁹¹ *De casu diaboli* is also written in dialogue form. It continues the discussion of free will by arguing that God gave free will to Satan and Adam, who of their own accord misused it by setting their own wills against God’s will. Created by God, each of these creatures’ free choice of something other than uprightness did not stem from their imperfect nature, which God had made perfect, but from their own freedom of choice, and thus God is not blamable for the origin of moral evil. Moreover, “since the evil which we call injustice is metaphysically privation and nothingness, God cannot be its source, since from God come only being and goodness.”⁹² Thus did Anselm consider the problems of Truth, Free Will, and the Fall of the Devil. These questions, too, may well have their origin in the fundamental Bec text *Vita Herluini*, as Anselm looked at Herluin’s example and contemplated how this iconic Bec monk had the ability to choose the good, which he so consistently did as he progressed on his pathway downward from the pinnacle of renowned knighthood to the depths of humble monkhood, and then upward again from humble, contemplative monk to renowned abbot, the active agent in the formation and shaping of a now renowned and powerful abbey. Despite an occasional mistake from time to time, as he progressed through trial and error, the ultimate shape of Herluin’s journey took the right path toward God’s plan. Now, as abbot of Bec, Anselm too must discern how he could follow in Herluin’s footsteps and always choose rightly. Soon, as archbishop of Canterbury, he would have to make the same observations of how to choose rightly to follow Lanfranc’s example, for free will conferred great responsibilities on Christian leaders. Their choices, like Herluin’s, shaped the church, and the men who would become their students and follow in their footsteps.

Both Lanfranc and Anselm had a distinctive way of teaching their students, whether at Bec or at Canterbury. As mentioned above, Lanfranc carefully taught the monks of Canterbury by slowly leading them step by step from their self-

⁹¹ Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 142–145.

⁹² Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 167–168.

indulgent and luxurious living toward right monastic living—surely on the Bec pattern established by Herluin’s self discovery. Anselm too taught his monks with this methodology, which Eadmer calls Holy Guile—*sancta calliditas*. He describes Anselm as teaching the monk Osbern, a really promising young boy who hated Anselm. Anselm began by first flattering the boy with kindly blandishments, bearing indulgently his boyish pranks, and allowing him “many things to delight his youth and to tame his unbridled spirit”—so far as the Rule allowed. Rejoicing in these favours, Osbern’s spirit was weaned from its wildness, and he began to love Anselm, listen to his advice, and refashion his way of life. Now Anselm “nursed and cherished him,” encouraging him in every way to improve. Then he slowly withdrew the blandishments he had formerly granted Osbern, drawing him on to a mature and upright way of life.⁹³ So must Anselm have carefully taught all the students in his care, on the example of St. Paul, whom, as we have seen, Anselm regarded as a foster mother, nurse, and teacher. In this vignette, we can see a replica of Herluin’s learning experience, as he slowly progressed from the wildness of his youthful knighthood, when he had realized the promise of a more Godly life, step by step through the discovery of the road to that promised lifestyle, until he realized it as abbot of Bec. In just such a pattern did Anselm’s theological writings lead the unconverted or unreformed step by step to discover God: first through comprehending in a carefully limited way the difficult concept of the Trinity, then by acknowledging God through reason alone, then by contemplating God as Truth, the Free Will God gave to his human creatures and their consequent responsibilities, and the origin of evil in Satan and Adam through their misuse of their God-given free will. Such a way of teaching—soothing the student with promises, and then slowly withdrawing them as he led the student step by step to a more upright life—could well have formed the basis for the management of political problems in the future, for the role of the archbishop was primarily that of teaching the souls under his care to live rightly. Indeed, we will discover Lanfranc using precisely this methodology to manage King William, below—just as he had soothed and guided the monks of Canterbury toward a more upright life.

Intertwined with the transfer of Bec monks and Bec teaching to England, and Canterbury monks and Canterbury knowledge to Bec, was a curious sense of history. We might notice two ways in which the Bec monks were using history. First, Lanfranc used Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* as a legal text, in almost his first act as archbishop in England: to establish the rights and privileges of the see of Canterbury. He consulted old men who knew from observation and tradition what Canterbury’s customs were, and he read Bede as a document establishing

⁹³ VA, 16–17.

the most ancient of Canterbury's rights from its foundation. He then went to the papal court where his probable former student Alexander presided, and Alexander ratified his evidence as decisive.⁹⁴ Thus Lanfranc interpreted history, the record of the past, whether written or oral, as law that could be authenticated by historical documents and enforced. Canterbury's history from its foundation was its legally enforceable law, establishing its right. We have already seen that Anselm had a copy of Bede's history at Bec, which he sought to correct—so that he was studying Bede well before he became archbishop. Like Lanfranc, Anselm promoted this principle of historical events as constituting law. Thus we have, in Part II, 2c, a letter of Pope Paschal II to Anselm that is a mirror image of a letter in Bede's history from Pope Gregory I to Archbishop Augustine of Canterbury. In each letter, the archbishop asks a series of legal questions, and the pope replies to each in turn. History is law, and it can and should be repeated—indeed perhaps re-enacted.⁹⁵ As we have seen, Anselm regarded his every act as archbishop as binding on his successors—as constituting law for them.⁹⁶

On the other hand, Gilbert Crispin, in his account and interpretation of Herluin's Dream, printed in Part II, 2a, sees history as revealing God's plan. Herluin had the dream, and its meaning was only revealed as history, God's plan, unfolded. Then the meaning of the dream became clear. In the same way, Eadmer told the story of Prior Anselm's finding a gold ring in his bed at Bec, which events later revealed to be a foreshadowing or foretelling of Anselm's future elevation to the archbishopric of Canterbury. We can see this Bec historical theory in Canterbury monk Osbern's letter to Anselm on the eve of Anselm's appointment to the archiepiscopal office, Part II, 2b, imploring Anselm to accept the high office because God wanted him to, and it was God's direction of history and the unfolding of God's plan for Anselm and for Canterbury and England that Anselm should succeed Lanfranc as England's metropolitan and primate. In a dramatic way, Osbern quotes God as saying "I have chosen you, Anselm, from all the plenitude of men" for God's bride the church of Canterbury. Osbern, in a very Bec way, also quotes historical precedents to Anselm, invoking the historical rulings of Popes Gregory, Boniface, Honorius, Vitalian, and Agatho,

⁹⁴ See Lanfranc, Epp. 1–4, the record of these legal hearings. They are also documented in the *Acta Lanfranci* suggesting their importance to Lanfranc. On *Acta Lanfranci*, see Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 213. On Lanfranc as a lawyer, see George Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure 1066–1166* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007).

⁹⁵ Anselm's student Guibert of Nogent saw the First Crusade as a repetition, or rather a re-enactment of the nation of Israel's conquest of the Holy Land, only this time more perfectly carried out, as Jay Rubenstein points out: Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind*.

⁹⁶ Anselm, Ep. 206.

and, of particular note, the historical examples of St. Peter's calling by God to Rome from his see at Antioch; and perhaps more tellingly the examples of Lawrence, a monk who accompanied Augustine to England, who succeeded Augustine at Canterbury, and St. Dunstan, a more recent reforming archbishop of Canterbury.⁹⁷

Whichever way the Bec teachers and students and monks looked at history—and they looked at it both ways, forward and backward—history was a vitally important part of Bec teaching, and played a central role in Bec thought. While they were not alone in seeing history as the unfolding of God's plan, they viewed historical events in a particularly intense way. The pattern of events of Herluin's life was an example to be replicated by Bec monks—as we have seen Anselm and Lanfranc doing. The pattern of events of Canterbury's foundation by Augustine and his missionaries was to be replicated by Lanfranc and his missionaries. History was a kind of a series of reenactments—not exact replicas of former events, but rather like the Platonic variations in the material world of the Ideal Forms in God's mind. Thus Anselm could portray his election as archbishop of Canterbury as an emulation of Christ's crucifixion by telling the monks of Bec that he had prayed and striven “that this chalice should pass me by so I would not have to drink it.”⁹⁸ In accepting the archbishopric, Anselm is also following the example of St. Martin, an abbot seized to become a bishop; and of St. Peter, bishop of Antioch, who then “went to Rome to seek a greater harvest.”⁹⁹ Thus Anselm is recapitulating these historical events in an individual way, as Lanfranc and his Bec monks are recapitulating the historical actions of Augustine's mission to England.

This interesting Platonic way of thinking about history as both law and a series of reenactments Anselm addressed directly in the last of his theological treatises, *De Concordia*. This tract, which he wrote only later in 1107, considers the problem of whether God's complete foreknowledge of all events can be reconciled with human free will and freedom of choice—in effect taking up where his earlier tract on free will left off. The full title of this work is *De Concordia Praescientiae et Praedestinationis et Gratiae Dei cum Libero Arbitrio: On the Harmony of the Foreknowledge, the Predestination, and the Grace of God with Free Choice*. In it, he argues once again that men have freedom of choice,

⁹⁷ Anselm, Ep. 149, Osborn to Anselm, printed below, Part II, 2b.

⁹⁸ Ep. 148.

⁹⁹ Ep. 156. John of Salisbury took note of Anselm's invocation of his reenactment of the Life of St. Martin with fervor, referring to it three separate times in his *Vita Anselmi*: John of Salisbury, *Vita Anselmi*, in *Anselm and Becket: Two Canterbury Saints' Lives by John of Salisbury*, trans. Ronald E. Pepin, Medieval Sources in Translation 46 (Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies: Toronto, 2009), 23, 30, 67.

but that God foreknows those choices but does not control them. This is so because

all of them are together at once within an eternal present. For eternity has its own “simultaneity” and encompasses all things that occur at the same time and place and that occur at different times and places For, temporally speaking, God has not already called, justified, and glorified those who He foreknows are still to be born ... things that are temporally past are altogether immutable, and in this way resemble the eternal present. In this respect the temporal past is more like the eternal present than is the temporal present.¹⁰⁰

God does not control our choices, but he foreknows them. For God, reality is an eternal present in which past, present, and future exist simultaneously, and in that way are immutable. But for us, only the past is immutable—the present and the future are conditioned by our choices. There is a difference between eternity and time. We cannot deny that something can be mutable in time while being immutable in eternity, which is “no more contradictory than something’s not existing at a certain time but always existing in eternity, or its having been or its going to be in the order of time while being neither past nor future in the order of eternity.” Thus God has knowledge of an eternal present, from which he views all human choices. His knowledge does not interfere with these choices.¹⁰¹ Thus human choices matter: they bring about the present and the future as they exist in God’s mind, and as they ought to be. This concept suggests almost the responsibility of God’s servants to make the right choices and take the right actions. It seems to argue for the active life in God’s service, as well as the contemplative life. At the same time, the past is God’s plan unfolded, and provides a pattern of God’s plan which can be emulated to know how to rightly unfold the future. Such seems to have been the thinking at Bec—even though Anselm only articulated these thoughts at the end of his life.

The Bec monks seem to have thought of Bec as a missionary outpost in Normandy, and, with Normandy converted, a missionary launching pad for the conversion of England emulating the conversion of Normandy. This conversion they also saw as a re-enactment of the historical deeds of their predecessors, St. Augustine of Canterbury and his monks. As Lanfranc, Augustine-like, had laid the foundation of the English Church under the Normans, just as Augustine had been succeeded one by one by the monks who had accompanied him to England, first Lawrence, then Mellitus, each of whom was consecrated during

¹⁰⁰ *De Concordia*, as quoted in Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 98–99.

¹⁰¹ *De Concordia*, as quoted in Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 160–161.

the reign of his predecessor; so Anselm had been designated, if not clearly by Lanfranc, then definitely by God, to become another Lawrence and, Lawrence-like, secure the good beginning made by his now-defunct leader. It is with this Bec and Norman background, and with these Bec missionary principles, that we now turn to Anselm's election to the see of Canterbury and the primatial theory he had developed at Bec and with Lanfranc for the implementation of God's plan in his archiepiscopal rule.

Chapter 3

Anselm's Election: Primatial Theory

When Abbot Anselm visited England in 1080, Archbishop Lanfranc, Eadmer tells us, “was still somewhat green as an Englishman—*adhuc quasi rudis Anglus*,”¹ even though ten years had passed since his consecration. But Eadmer insists a second time that Lanfranc was still “like a new citizen of England—*ille sicuti novus Angliae civis*,” even at this late date.² Lanfranc himself had called himself “a new Englishman—*novus Anglus*,” in a letter to Pope Alexander II³ written just after his consecration. Eadmer may have been quoting this letter. But it seems rather doubtful that Lanfranc was still green in 1080. Nevertheless, Eadmer characterizes him as such, and as such asking Anselm's advice concerning an archiepiscopal predecessor at Canterbury, St. Elphege. As Eadmer explained, Lanfranc, winnowing through the customs of England, rejecting some and accepting others,⁴ just as Pope Gregory I had instructed his predecessor Archbishop Augustine to do,⁵ was not sure whether the murdered Elphege—who was killed because he failed to pay off his pagan kidnappers—should be accepted as a legitimate martyr-saint or not. Anselm replied that “we must look at the case interpreting it historically,” not for the reason (his refusal to make a ransom payment) of his murder alone, but for another more ancient reason—*causam ... beati Aelfegi historialiter intuentes videmus non illam solam, sed aliam fuisse ista antiquiore*. “It was not only because he refused to buy himself off with money,” Anselm continued, “but also because like a Christian by his own free will—*Christiana libertate*—he stood out against his pagan persecutors, and tried to convert them from their unfaith,” as they burnt down Canterbury—and Christ Church as well, “putting innocent citizens to a horrible death.” So as Anselm explained the case, it was for Elphege's efforts to convert these pagans to Christianity—an action chosen through his own free will—that they

¹ Eadmer, VA, 50.

² Eadmer, VA, 52.

³ Lanfranc, Ep. 4.

⁴ Eadmer, VA, 50–51.

⁵ On this see Pope Gregory I's instructions to St. Augustine, to examine all the ecclesiastical customs available and pick and choose the best from among them: Bede, *Ecl. Hist.*, 80–83.

“seized him and put him to death with cruel torture.”⁶ Thus Anselm, placing Archbishop Elphege in a historical context, seems to see him as part of the line of successors to St. Augustine, converting the pagan inhabitants of England as had Canterbury’s original archbishop, recalling our discussion above on how Anselm viewed history. Anselm singled out Elphege’s free will choice to convert the pagans, recalling his own treatise on Free Will and its extension in *De Concordia*, in which he had argued that human choices shaped the future, and were made freely, even though God foreknew what those choices could be, in the simultaneity of eternal time. Elphege’s free will decision, Anselm seems to imply by considering it historically, advanced the historical cause of Canterbury. Anselm went on to give a theological explanation as well: that Elphege died for Christ and thus for both Truth and Justice, as did John the Baptist. Recall that his treatise *On Truth* argued that God was both Truth and Justice. So, like St. John, whose example he followed, Elphege must be venerated as a martyr. Both Anselm’s reasons for venerating Elphege—the historical reason and the theological reason—correspond to what we have discussed above as Bec ways of thought on history, and Anselm’s theological writing at Bec. Lanfranc agreed with Anselm, and ordered the Bec/Canterbury monk Osbern to write up Elphege’s life in prose and song.⁷

Nevertheless, it looks like Eadmer has set up a straw man for Anselm to knock down, with his claim that Lanfranc was still green as an Englishman, and could not interpret Elphege’s martyrdom correctly, in order to make Anselm shine forth as Lanfranc’s co-worker in England’s vineyard, thus foreshadowing Anselm’s succession to the archiepiscopate. For in *Historia Novorum*, Eadmer describes these two men, “both equipped with wisdom divine and human alike,” as always “held by the king in high esteem; and in all decisions which he had to make,” King William “listened to them more readily than to all his other counselors. Advised by them, he often ... abandoned his natural harshness ... and exerted himself zealously” to establish abbeys in his realm, to preserve religious life, and to guard the peace of churches everywhere.⁸ Thus, in the Elphege incident, first, Eadmer sets Anselm up as an equal partner with Lanfranc, and, second, as a kind of teacher to his own former teacher. Although Lanfranc was his equal in divine and human wisdom, it was the rational theologian Anselm who could clarify why Elphege must be venerated as an English saint, and why, in the perspective of both history and theology, his martyrdom for Canterbury and the English Church was genuine. As Anselm himself stated in letters to

⁶ Eadmer, VA, 52. My translation. Elphege was actually stoned to death with cattle bones. Eadmer, HN, 4–5 for the story of Elphege’s martyrdom at the hands of the Vikings.

⁷ Eadmer, VA, 50–54.

⁸ Eadmer, HN, 23.

Lanfranc during his pontificate, Anselm and Lanfranc, like all Bec monks, were of one mind, united in one soul: “And just as we wish our virtues, if any there be, to be yours, likewise we do not hesitate to consider your virtues, however many, to be ours.” Anselm describes his and Lanfranc’s souls as “closely united” into one, which unity circumstances could never separate.⁹ The minds of Bec monks were welded together by the fire of love, together submitting to God’s rule by obeying His will “through our own ordering of affairs.”¹⁰ Bec monk Gundulf was Anselm’s “other self,”¹¹ as were all the Bec monks, including Lanfranc. And, just as St. Augustine filled his new church at Canterbury with his accompanying band of monks,¹² Canterbury under Lanfranc was now filled with such united Bec souls, including Anselm himself, now a member of the Canterbury confraternity.

This story concerning Anselm’s verification of Archbishop Elphege’s sanctity is the third step in Eadmer’s account that foretells Anselm’s eventual succession to his teacher Lanfranc as archbishop of Canterbury. First, as prior of Bec, Anselm found a mysterious gold ring, which to Eadmer obviously foretold Anselm’s archiepiscopal appointment. *Vita Lanfranci* picked up this story and repeated it, but located it at Canterbury, not Bec. In this account, Lanfranc, hearing the story, interpreted the gold ring as a divine portent, symbolizing the marriage of the archbishop to his see, and commented “You must understand that Anselm will quite certainly be archbishop after me.”¹³ This is as close as we can come to Lanfranc’s actual designation of Anselm as his successor; and, given other portents of Anselm’s future, it rings true. For secondly in Eadmer’s account, on Abbot Anselm’s arrival at Canterbury, he was welcomed into the fraternity of Canterbury monks—became a Canterbury monk himself—and thus was positioned to step easily into the archiepiscopal shoes. Finally, in this same visit, he took on a co-episcopal role with Lanfranc, interpreting English history to make archiepiscopal policy and advising King William as an equal to Archbishop Lanfranc. And Eadmer then describes Anselm as acting very archiepiscopally, travelling throughout England instructing not only “various monastic houses of monks, canons and nuns,” but also, as was a bishop’s duty, preaching to lay men and women at the courts of a number of noblemen. Adapting his words

⁹ Anselm, Ep. 1.

¹⁰ Anselm, Ep. 5, to Bec monk Henry. Anselm adds: “Consider as your own the letter I sent to Dom Gundulf, by changing his name to yours and yours to his. For anything our love, whether revealing itself or requesting something, writes either to you or to him, it says the very same both to you and to him.”

¹¹ Anselm, Ep. 7. Cf. 16.

¹² Bede, *Ecl. Hist.*, 68–69, 72–73, 76–77.

¹³ VL, 57; cf. Eadmer, VA, 41.

to every class of men, as appropriate to the station of each, “he spoke to monks, to clerks and to laymen, ordering his words to the way of life of each.”¹⁴ Thus Pope Gregory I, in his *Pastoral Care*, had enjoined bishops to teach their charges, both lay and ecclesiastical.¹⁵ As Bec/Canterbury monk Osbern so rousingly thundered, clearly God intended Anselm for Canterbury, which no sane person could doubt. William of Malmesbury reports that “the rumor was put around—not, I think, without the wish and will of God—that the archbishop would be Anselm, a man holy through and through, and meticulously educated. Happy would England be when blessed by such a man!”¹⁶

But clearly Anselm’s contemporaries did doubt this. To ascertain why, we must look at the historical context of Anselm’s election. Eadmer reports that after Lanfranc’s death in 1089, the new king, the Conqueror’s second son William Rufus, seized Canterbury’s possessions, allowing only for the bare sustenance of the monks and keeping the rest for himself or letting it out at rent. He kept Canterbury vacant deliberately, as well as other vacant churches, and offered their lands to the highest bidder, renewable year by year. He devastated Canterbury itself, and persecuted the few remaining monks. Anselm, observing from Bec his Bec/Caen/Canterbury brethren in England, could only have been horrified.

The barebones story of Anselm’s election is that Anselm travelled to England in September 1092 once again to look after Bec’s lands there, at the command of the Bec monks, and also at the urgent plea of Earl Hugh of Chester, who was seriously ill and needed Anselm’s ministrations. Once in England, Anselm travelled around the realm, publicly arguing that the Canterbury vacancy must be filled. King William Rufus, suddenly beset by illness and fearing death, offered the archbishopric to Anselm at the insistence and acclamation of the clergy and nobles of England. Anselm, repeatedly denying that he desired the high office, strenuously resisted; but he was grabbed and forcibly dragged to his episcopal consecration, his clenched fist pried open finger by finger to insert the episcopal staff—with Anselm all the while shouting “This is a nullity that you do.”¹⁷

As I have argued at great length elsewhere,¹⁸ Anselm’s reluctance to assume high office—any high office, not just the archbishopric of Canterbury—was

¹⁴ Eadmer, VA, 48–57.

¹⁵ Gregory the Great, *Pastoral Care*, trans. Henry Davis (Newman Press, Westminster, MD, 1955), 3:38, 39, 40.

¹⁶ GP, 116–117.

¹⁷ Eadmer, HN, 28–42; VA, 63–64.

¹⁸ For the following account, see Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 116–138, which I have summarized here, with the addition of some further thoughts engendered by the materials in Chapters 1 and 2 of this present book.

surely sincere and heartfelt. Nevertheless, as we have shown above, the signs and signals that God wanted Anselm to succeed his teacher and mentor were overwhelming. It must have been with these heaven-sent portents in mind, and Anselm's clear association with Lanfranc as archbishop, as well as the nightmare of Canterbury's metropolitan and monastic disintegration under William Rufus, that impelled Anselm to travel to England in 1092, amidst rumours and accusations that he desired the rich and prestigious office. Clearly Anselm, as a committed monk, truly did not desire such an office—at least not its power and wealth—which would have implied the sin of cupidity; even more clearly, Anselm felt that God wanted and needed him to serve as archbishop of Canterbury to carry on the missionary work of his predecessor Lanfranc, in the role of his Lawrence to Lanfranc's Augustine. Nevertheless, rumours were circulating that Anselm desired the archbishopric, and he was at great pains to refute them, as we shall see.

If indeed Lanfranc had not publicly designated Anselm as his successor as archbishop, as Augustine had designated his successor Lawrence—although *Vita Lanfranci* states otherwise, and Lanfranc's reliance on Anselm's advice on St. Elphege, implies otherwise—nevertheless clearly God had designated Anselm, through his signs and portents, most notably the gold ring reported by *Vita Anselmi* and *Vita Lanfranci*. As the Bec/Canterbury monk Osbern argued in his letter to Anselm, Anselm's duty was to answer God's call and fulfill God's plan for his bride, the church of Canterbury.¹⁹ Anselm had to make a decision and a choice, of his own free will—like Elphege before him, whether to answer God's call. Gundulf bishop of Rochester, also a Bec/Caen/Canterbury monk, later stated this view clearly to the monks left at Bec:

By the unerring working of God's power, our lord the King of the English, on the advice and at the request of his barons as well as by the petition and election of the clergy and people, has given Dom Abbot Anselm the rule over the church of Canterbury. There is no doubt that this was done by the most holy action and decree of God.²⁰

Osbern added a second impassioned plea to Anselm:

How long, most kind lord, are you going to keep our ... souls in suspense? If you are he who is to come, show us by coming, nor should you wish to delay any longer the good which Christ, by his eternal decision, deigned to impart to the

¹⁹ See Osbern's letter, Anselm, Ep. 149, Part II, 2b.

²⁰ Anselm, Ep. 150, Gundulf to Anselm.

human race for its perfection Consider, kindest of all men, that these are the complaints against you: Is this the man about whom we rejoiced so much, about whom we heard such great things? See how he deceived us, how he destroyed our souls! ... Is this the man whom Osbern has been praising so much to the people for these last thirteen years, whom in all his discourses he proclaimed the most holy and most wise master? See how he has made our present state worse than the previous one! Believe that unless you cease staying away, these things will never cease being said. Come then ... be our ruler. This will be praise for God²¹

Strong words indeed from the Canterbury community, who seem to be calling Anselm to govern them. Moreover, no other candidate was either suggested or put forward. The Canterbury community was whole-heartedly in favour of their fellow Bec/Canterbury monk Anselm succeeding his teacher Lanfranc. Indeed, on Anselm's arrival in England in September 1092, they embarrassed him by prematurely greeting him as archbishop.²²

Nevertheless, Anselm's contemporaries—including even the monks remaining at Bec²³—questioned his motivation. Perhaps Rufus and his cohorts generated the rumours and accusations of cupidity that swirled around Anselm. Eadmer reports that when one of his magnates praised Anselm as holy and devoid of worldly ambition, Rufus replied that if Anselm thought he could become archbishop of Canterbury, he would “applaud with hands and feet and rush to embrace it.” Meanwhile, Rufus continued, no one would be archbishop except Rufus himself.²⁴ Thus after Anselm's election he had to write numerous letters refuting this accusation—to Fulk bishop of Beauvais, to the monks of Bec, to Gilbert bishop of Evreux—and asking them all to circulate his refutations in these four letters as widely as possible.²⁵ In these letters he argues that he was indeed reluctant to leave his beloved Bec for a higher office:

Nobody ever saw any deed of mine from which he could conclude that I enjoyed being a superior. What then shall I do? How can I repel and extinguish this false

²¹ Anselm, Ep. 152, Osbern to Anselm. References include John 10:24, Matthew 11:3, Isaiah 3:6.

²² Eadmer, VA, 63–64.

²³ See Anselm, Ep. 156, Part II, 3c, printed below, for Anselm's answer to such accusations from Bec itself.

²⁴ Eadmer, HN, 30; in GP, 119, Rufus replies that Anselm would move heaven and earth if he could get within sniffing distance of attaining the archbishopric. “By the face of Lucca, he and all the candidates for the see will have to give way to me this time around: I shall be archbishop.”

²⁵ Anselm, Epp. 151, 156, 159, 160. See Ep. 156, to Prior Baudry and the monks of Bec, in Part II, 3c, for one of these letters.

and hateful suspicion lest it harm the souls of those who loved me for God's sake by diminishing their love ... see and be my witness that, as my conscience tells me, I do not know how I could free myself without sin from the intention of those who elected me²⁶

Anselm then goes on to make an argument by historical examples, comparing himself to St. Martin, called by God from his monks and put over clerics, monks, and lay men and women. St. Peter was a bishop in Antioch, yet no one said that he sinned when he went to Rome at God's call to seek a greater harvest for God. Anselm was clearly suggesting that he was re-enacting their examples by moving from Bec to Canterbury. In another letter, he intimated that he was following the example of Christ himself: he prayed as much as he could and strove that "if it were possible this cup should pass me by, so that I would not have to drink it."²⁷ In trying hard to evade high office, he "presumed that [he] could defend" himself by his own strength and cleverness (*ingenium*), but "God was stronger and cleverer" than Anselm, and for that reason his "presumption came to nothing."²⁸

There is no reason to believe that Anselm's reluctance to assume high office—any high office—was feigned in any way. Clearly he loved Bec and his monks there. Clearly he loved his role as a teacher and a theologian. His dedication to Truth as an aspect of God makes any falsification of these motives on Anselm's part extremely doubtful. Nevertheless, reluctance for high office was a *topos*, repeated endlessly by nearly every ecclesiastic promoted to high office: Pope Gregory I himself hid in a waterpot in the forest, from which he was dragged by the people to the pontificate at Rome. As early as 248 a crowd dragged St. Cyprian from his home in Carthage to force him into his bishopric. In 251 Cornelius was forced into the papal office, and in 371 St. Martin of Tours—whom Anselm himself invoked as a model and an example—fled his abbey and hid to avoid an appointment as bishop, only to be found and dragged back to his consecration by a crowd of supporters. St. Ambrose too was reluctantly elevated to the bishopric of Milan by public acclamation. St. Augustine of Hippo feared his elevation to bishop, and hid out as much as he could. But, he said, "a slave may not contradict his lord." He came to Hippo, feeling secure because it already had a bishop. There, "I was grabbed. I was made a priest ... I became your bishop."²⁹

²⁶ Anselm, Ep. 156.

²⁷ Anselm, Ep. 148; cf. Matthew 26:39, for Christ's prayer that this cup, his crucifixion, be taken from him.

²⁸ Anselm, Ep. 156.

²⁹ For these references and many others, see Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 116–119.

Christ himself, agonizing as he awaited his crucifixion, praying “Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass me by,” was the ultimate example. “Nevertheless,” he continued, “let it be not as I will but as You will.”³⁰ Anselm would have been well aware of this historical and theological *topos* of reluctance to assume high office. That awareness would not have made him any less than sincerely reluctant, as he claimed. But, if examined closely, the *topos* includes, in almost every case, submission to God’s will and subsequent acceptance of the high office to which the subject was called: “let it be not as I will but as You will.” Anselm himself had cited Christ as the example he was following. The question is, at what point did Anselm submit to God’s will?

Anselm strove to fulfill God’s will and to do his duty to become archbishop of Canterbury well before he was grabbed by the bishops and forced to his consecration—despite all Eadmer’s obfuscation.³¹ We have seen him joining Lanfranc in archiepiscopal duties: teaching the Canterbury monks, preaching to the English laity, and advising the king as early as his 1080 visit to England—thus foreshadowing his eventual succession to Lanfranc, who died in 1089. Thus in early September 1092, after much delay and much agonizing while King William II despoiled the English church, Anselm crossed from Normandy to England to speak out for Canterbury’s vacancy to be filled.³² Indeed he continued to so lobby the English for a good six months, before he was finally seized and forced into the archbishopric. During this time, he himself was going through his own prioral and abbatial letters, collecting them. Bec monk Maurice, now at Canterbury, may well have been keeping or copying them for him.³³ In a very long and complex analysis of a Salisbury manuscript collecting nearly all Anselm’s Bec writings—the last of which is Anselm’s response to Gaunilo, who wrote on behalf of the fool, which Sharpe thinks was written in 1092—Sharpe remarks that this manuscript “extends our understanding of Anselm the author towards the end of his monastic career at Bec.” In the course of this discussion, Sharpe suggests that “the bringing together of this group of four booklets as a single-author collection” might be “the sign of the writer’s growing status as *auctor*.” He even argues that this collection might be regarded as “Volume I” of Anselm’s entire literary *corpus*.³⁴ His dating of the last

³⁰ Matthew 26:39.

³¹ Where Eadmer goes on for pages and pages with this obfuscation—see Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 123, William of Malmesbury dispenses with the same information in one paragraph: GP, 116–117.

³² For a longer, more detailed version of what follows, see Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 123–138.

³³ Sharpe, “Anselm as Author,” 39.

³⁴ Sharpe, “Anselm as Author,” 30–35.

work—and thus the manuscript—to 1092 suggests that just then, with Anselm in England urging King William to fill the empty Canterbury archbishopric, his Bec theological writings as well as his Bec letters were being collected—and by Anselm himself.

Eadmer's account of Anselm's activities, and especially his motives, cannot be trusted, for he muddies up the waters with various conflicting reasons for Anselm's visit to England: Anselm must visit the bedside of the gravely ill Hugh earl of Chester, his old friend; he must visit Bec's lands, in dire need of attention; finally, the Bec monks commanded him to go to England to attend to their business there, and if he did not, he was guilty of the sin of disobedience.³⁵ The first two of Eadmer's reasons may perhaps be partially true, for many of England's nobles favoured Anselm's election—although Earl Hugh himself, a glutton and so fierce he was nicknamed “the wolf,” seems an unlikely candidate to persuade him. But Hugh had earlier requested that Abbot Anselm install Bec monks at his abbey of St. Werburgh's Chester, and Anselm had done so. And St. Werburgh's lands, along with other Bec lands in England, may well have suffered in King William II's abuses of the church kingdom-wide.³⁶ Indeed, William of Malmesbury alleges a bit more straightforwardly that Hugh called Anselm to England to tend to the new abbey of St. Werburgh's Chester, which rings true; but adding Eadmer's reason that Hugh needed to confess to Anselm because he was ill *in extremis*—yet, William added, Hugh offered to leave a written plea, should he die, for Anselm to take to Rufus's court, to intercede with the king to try to lighten Bec's taxes.³⁷

Eadmer, on the other hand, stretches out Hugh's summons of Anselm to what amounts to three warnings—reminiscent of three summons to court. Hugh's first request was for Anselm to come and set up an abbey at Chester. Malmesbury shows that the abbey had already been established. Hugh's second request pled his extreme illness, stating that the rumours about his having to undertake the archbishopric if he went to England were mere nothings. It was on the third of these summons, Hugh's rather puzzling statement that if Anselm did not come to his side that he would perpetually grieve eternally, that Anselm began, according to Eadmer, to reflect on the duty one owed to one's friends, so that if he did not go to Earl Hugh he would offend against the “brotherly love” we owe not only to friends but even to enemies. Even if people might thereby think he sought the archbishopric, then, he must go to Earl Hugh in England.³⁸

³⁵ Eadmer, HN, 27–28.

³⁶ For the full extent of these, see Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 123–132.

³⁷ GP, 1:116–117.

³⁸ Eadmer, HN, 27–29.

If we were to believe Eadmer's testimony here, we might think Anselm's friendship with Earl Hugh more important to Anselm than his duty to God and Canterbury. More likely is that Hugh's statement that Anselm would regret not coming immediately to England referred to the possibility of losing his opportunity to succeed to Canterbury, as God willed. So Anselm set out, stopping on the way to visit his good friend Ida countess of Boulogne—and it was there at Boulogne, Eadmer says, that he received the command of the Bec monks to go to England to look after their lands, or risk the sin of disobedience. Eadmer has painted a picture of forces working beyond Anselm's control inexorably forcing him toward his archiepiscopal destiny.

Anselm himself had invoked the image of St. Martin, bishop of Tours, as one of the models for his transference from Bec to England, as we have seen. It is important to note that by Anselm's time, Tours had become an archbishopric, so that Martin was a particularly good exemplar. A glance at the *Life of St. Martin* by Sulpicius Severus at this point is instructive. When the soldier-turned-monk Martin, now a soldier for Christ and founding abbot of Marmoutier, had refused the bishopric of Tours, a certain inhabitant of Tours Ruricius pretended his wife was ill, and summoned Martin to come to her side and minister to her. Martin did his duty and set forth on the journey. When he arrived at Tours, a large crowd welcomed him and sought him for their bishop—but there was also an opposing party to his candidacy, led by a certain bishop Defensor. The crowd gained their wish despite the bishop's opposition, seizing him for the office. Now the monk/bishop of Tours "reformed" the see by making it conform more to a monastic level of humbleness. Then Martin consulted with the elders of Tours about its history to ascertain the legitimacy of some of its revered martyr's graves. Martin proved them false, and went on to overthrow and destroy temples all over the land, building churches and monasteries in their places and converting vast crowds of heathens.³⁹

Hugh of Chester's illness and his summons to Anselm might well recall to his readers the story of St. Martin, whose subsequent history, when viewed in retrospect, recalls elements of Herluin's example—a soldier turned monk, founding an abbey and becoming its abbot; of Anselm's example—a monk lured by an ill friend to the place where he was wanted as archbishop, and although opposed by other bishops, drafted into that office; and of Lanfranc's example—and Anselm's as well, of researching the place's history, of tearing down old places of worship—in the Norman case Anglo-Saxon churches and minsters—and building new churches and abbeys in their place. Martin's conversion of

³⁹ Sulpicius Severus, *The Life of St. Martin*, Chapters 9, 11, 13 and 14, at <http://www.ccel.org/schaff/npnf211.ii.ii.html>.

the heathen hordes would recall Bec's sense of itself as a missionary movement destined to convert barbarians. Eadmer's readers, steeped in such iconic *vitae* as that of St. Martin, would have immediately made these connections when Hugh begged Anselm to come to England and minister to him. That Anselm himself made this connection—as Hugh may well have intended him to—is suggested by Eadmer's report of Anselm's meditation on the importance of his duty to a friend *in extremis*. Whatever the case, Anselm then set out for England—but stopped halfway in Boulogne.

That the monks of Bec at that point commanded Anselm to go to England with rumors flying about that he would be seized for the archbishopric if he did seems rather questionable. Nevertheless, the depredations of their lands occurring under King William Rufus may have led them thoughtlessly to do so—and to later regret it. For a whole series of letters were exchanged between Anselm and the Bec monks in which they desperately tried to persuade him to stay at Bec, and castigated him for deserting the abbey for the archbishopric. They marshaled every legal, moral, and rational reason imaginable to force him or persuade him to stay at Bec—which we see in Anselm's own answer to each of these objections, in his long letter to the Bec monks agonizingly taking his leave of them to obey the will of God and assume the rule of Canterbury.⁴⁰ Anselm's thinking—and probably Eadmer's too—is revealed in one of Anselm's earlier abbatial letters, to William Bona Anima, at that time abbot of Bec's daughter house of Saint-Etienne of Caen. William had asked what to do about the Bec/Caen monk Hernoſt, who was reluctant to obey Lanfranc's appointment of him as bishop of Rochester. Anselm told William to tell Hernoſt that,

while maintaining obedience and holy gentleness, his soul must shun such a burden as far as it can; ... you [Abbot William], I advise that you command him [to accept this burden] by begging and warning him; in this way his conscience may be more untroubled in God's sight once he perceives that he has been moved along by the fear of God alone and by holy obedience; by this obligation, may God lead him to a good end ... for which alone he should realize [this translation to Rochester] was begun.⁴¹

Here is the proper pattern for assuming a higher office: it should be shunned as a burden; it should be commanded by a higher authority; it should then be accepted by the perception that God, through holy obedience, is leading the person being promoted to a good end. Anselm had strenuously resisted going to

⁴⁰ See Anselm, Ep. 156, in Part II, 3c; and Epp. 148, 150, 151, 155, 157.

⁴¹ Anselm, Ep. 52; cf. 53, to Hernoſt.

England for a long time. Even now, though impelled toward England by his duty to his friendship to Hugh of Chester, he was unwilling, lingering in Boulogne. The command of the Bec monks ordering Anselm to go to England, where many thought he would be grabbed for the archbishopric, was the last piece of the formula needed to fulfill the pattern, Eadmer seems to be saying. This command confirmed that the transfer from Bec to Canterbury was indeed “moved along” by the will of God and the command of obedience.

Anselm’s subsequent letters to Bec show Anselm willingly doing his duty and answering God’s call to Canterbury, nevertheless indeed unwillingly wrenching himself away from his beloved Bec. He told the Bec monks that he would always regard Bec as his nest and the Bec monks as his chicks under his wings, and would never cease loving them, nor give up the power of binding and loosing them, or advising them, as long as their new abbot and the Bec monks would concede this to him.⁴² This statement, and a number similar to it, suggest that Bec vows of obedience were permanent: the monks owed obedience to the abbot in perpetuity, even after he left their abbey or they left Bec; and the abbot owed obedience to the monks collectively.⁴³ This latter belief may well have been the source of the Bec community’s obstinate refusal to release Anselm. It was the basis on which Anselm at last went to England, on the command of the monks collectively. But this Bec practice also meant that Anselm had to answer to Bec/Caen/Canterbury monks elsewhere than Bec, such as Osbern and Gundulf bishop of Rochester, as well as to the monks remaining at Bec. Likewise it meant

⁴² Anselm, Ep. 156.

⁴³ Anselm’s Epistle 57 attests Anselm’s continued obedience to Lanfranc after Lanfranc’s departure. Anselm’s Epistles 64 and 6 show that Anselm continued to hold authority over his former students even if they left to study elsewhere. Lanfranc himself, having left Bec to rule over St. Etienne of Caen in 1063, agreed to his translation from the abbacy of Caen to the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1070 only after Herluin ordered him to do so, for “it was Lanfranc’s custom to obey (Herluin) as he would obey Christ.” VL, 41; cf. OV, 2:252. When Herluin visited Lanfranc in England shortly after 1070, “the supreme pontiff and apostolic vicar ... Lanfranc, subordinated himself to the man once his abbot, Herluin, just as if the archbishop were any other monk.” VH, 105, VL, 43. Thus it seems to have been a Bec principle that once professed to a Bec abbot, that profession was permanent, and that even if a Bec prior or abbot moved elsewhere, he retained his role as prior or abbot over the Bec monks who had professed to him. Likewise, a Bec monk always owed obedience to a Bec abbot. As Archbishop Lanfranc wrote, he always obeyed Abbot Anselm “as if he were God.” Anselm, Ep. 31. Likewise, Anselm, even though he had already resigned from the abbacy of Bec, exerted himself strenuously to make William of Beaumont his abbatial successor at Bec, nominating him, commanding William to accept the office, and ordering Baudry, Bec’s prior, not to desert his office but to accept William as abbot. Anselm, Ep. 157. Finally, Anselm wrote a letter to William instructing him to govern justly and going into some detail about how to proceed so that “on all sides the inviolate order of the abbey can be preserved rightly.” Anselm, Ep. 165.

that as Bec's abbot Anselm ruled not only his own Bec monks, but also the Bec/Caen monks, the Bec monks in all its priories and dependencies in Normandy and in France, and the Bec/Caen/Canterbury monks now scattered throughout England—a powerful organization for reform, and one Anselm could continue to use as archbishop of Canterbury in a way Lanfranc never could—for Lanfranc had only been Bec's prior. Anselm must have thought about how marvelously God had provided such a splendid instrument of reform for him in his new office of metropolitan, and primate.

Like Lanfranc before him,⁴⁴ Anselm was very conscious of securing the legal rights necessary for his transfer from Bec to Canterbury. St. Augustine, after first fleeing from his mission to England, had founded Canterbury at the direct command of Pope Gregory I.⁴⁵ Lanfranc had assumed Canterbury's primacy only after he had been ordered to do so by King William, Abbot Herluin, and Pope Alexander II. The command of the monks of Bec was simply for Anselm to go to England, not to accept the archbishopric. When King William II failed to obtain releases similar to those of Lanfranc from Duke Robert Curthose of Normandy and Archbishop William of Rouen, Anselm took matters into his own hands. He personally asked his former Bec student and former abbot of Caen, William Bona Anima, now archbishop of Rouen, to sanction his translation to Canterbury. William's letter reveals that both King William and Anselm had asked him to command Anselm to assume the office of archbishop, writing to Anselm "Regarding those matters that the king had asked of me concerning you, and of which you yourself have written me ... I order [*iubeo*] that you accept the pastoral care of the church of Canterbury."⁴⁶ Duke Robert Curthose, Anselm's close friend for many years, after much persuasion, and, as he says, with little enthusiasm, also granted that Anselm could take up the care of Canterbury, yielding to his brother King William II's petition.⁴⁷

These two letters are the final letters in the Lambeth 59 collection of the letters of Anselm's abbatiade. The manuscript then begins the archiepiscopal

⁴⁴ Although this was not a habit of mind unique to Bec—we have seen St. Martin acting similarly, for example, and many other bishops and abbots like Thomas of York, as chronicled by Hugh the Chanter, did likewise in England—nevertheless it was one of the procedures Bec students and monks habitually followed. See, for example, Anselm's student Guibert of Nogent, who, on becoming abbot of Nogent, researched its history: *Monodies*, translated in *A Monk's Confession: The Memoirs of Guibert of Nogent*, trans. Paul J. Archambault (Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA, 1996), Book 2, 93–104.

⁴⁵ Bede, *Ecl. Hist.*, 68–71.

⁴⁶ Anselm, Ep. 154, printed below, Part II, 3b. Recall that Anselm had earlier written instructions to William when he was abbot of Saint-Etienne of Caen, instructing him to order Herno to accept the office of bishop of Rochester.

⁴⁷ Anselm, Ep. 153, printed below, Part II, 3a.

collection with the beautiful historiated initial below in Part II, 1a. In the three letters Anselm wrote with his own official account of his election, to Fulk bishop of Beauvais, Gilbert bishop of Evreux, and to Domnald, Donatus, and the other bishops of Ireland, he gives a kind of “official” account of the events of his election, naming every one of the appropriate *topoi*:

I came by the secret decision of God to England for the benefit of the church ... the king, the bishops, and the chief men of the realm violently seized and dragged me to the episcopal throne. The clergy and people unanimously acclaimed this I was compelled by the command of the duke of Normandy and the archbishop of Rouen ... and I obediently accepted. Thus I agreed to be raised to the episcopal rank because I found it impossible to refuse.⁴⁸

This letter is especially interesting because Bishop Donatus/Donald of Dublin had been sent to Canterbury for his education and, like Anselm, had entered the Canterbury confraternity. There he would have studied under Prior Henry, and with Gundulf, Maurice, Herluin, Richard, and the many other Bec/Caen monks Lanfranc took with him to Canterbury. There he would have imbibed the “practices of the best-approved monasteries” that Lanfranc had brought to England. Donatus/Donald had become a Bec/Caen/Canterbury monk. So in 1085, Lanfranc appointed him archbishop of Dublin.⁴⁹ As a Bec/Canterbury monk, he would have well understood Anselm’s message in the official account he received: Anselm had fulfilled every requirement historically and topologically necessary for his ascension to high office. And Donatus would have brought the power of the Bec network to Ireland from England.

In that same letter to the bishops of Ireland, Anselm continued in his exposition of the proper actions of a bishop:

Being therefore crowned episcopally, I began carefully to consider what was my duty to Christ, to his Church in this land, and to my office; and I tried to repress evils by pastoral rule, to coerce those who had unjustly taken possession, and to lead everything unlawful back to due order.

This statement makes clear that Anselm had thought with a great deal of concern about what should be his role and duty as archbishop of Canterbury. He had a clear sense that his new office entailed specific duties to God, to the church of England, and to the archbishopric of Canterbury, metropolitan or primate

⁴⁸ Anselm, Ep. 198, printed below, Part II, 3e.

⁴⁹ On Donatus/Donald, see Fröhlich, *Letters of Anselm*, 2:133 n. 2, and the sources printed there.

of England. Later he would speak of his primacy as including all Britain and Orkney as well. Thus he had formulated a concept in his mind of a lawful “due order” for England. This phrase suggests that he may well have been thinking of the patterns set by his predecessors, Augustine, Lawrence, Dunstan, and Lanfranc—patterns outlined in Bede’s history, and after Anselm’s time described in Eadmer’s *Historia Novorum* and William of Malmesbury’s *Gesta Pontificum*, as we shall see.

Anselm was thinking really hard about the concept of duty in the years before his pontificate under William Rufus, but he only expressed his thoughts on the concept at the end of Rufus’s reign, when he had a good deal of free time because Rufus had sent him into exile. It was at that time that he wrote one of his most famous works, *Cur Deus Homo*, in which much of his discussion centers around the word “debitum”—a word that means at the same time duty, debt, what is owed, what ought to be done. He was also concerned in this treatise with the concept of honor. Although this tract discusses these terms in relation to God and Christ,⁵⁰ we have Anselm’s statement that in 1093 he was thinking of “debitum” at least in terms of his duty to Canterbury and England.

Although in the years immediately preceding his accession to the archbishopric, between Lanfranc’s death in 1089 and Anselm’s election in 1093, his letters had begun to circulate rather widely, particularly his prioral letters collected into little batches, he wrote another tract that sometimes circulated with them: *Cur Deus magis*—Why God is Great. This obscure tract, which actually did not circulate very widely,⁵¹ and is unavailable in some modern collections of Anselm’s works, suggests that in those years when Canterbury was vacant Anselm was thinking very hard about God’s greatness and what God required of him: what ought he to do about the abuses of the English church? What was his duty to God, and, as his earlier discussion of free will suggests, what choices ought he to make in order to further God’s plan? We have just discussed the choices he made to go to England, where he lobbied for about six months, preaching sermons in England’s churches that urged the king to fill the vacant archbishopric of Canterbury, until finally King William Rufus, struck by illness, agreed to appoint Anselm as archbishop.

Even so, Anselm still professed his unwillingness to serve in this office, so that the bishops grabbed him and dragged him to the church, prying open his clenched fist to stuff inside it the pastoral staff, with Anselm all the time crying out “It is a nullity that you do.”⁵² This first “consecration”—which Anselm

⁵⁰ Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 190–197.

⁵¹ Sharpe, “Anselm as Author,” 25–29 on *Cur Deus magis* and the circulation of groups of Anselm’s letters.

⁵² Eadmer, HN, 35.

declared null and void—was on March 6, 1093.⁵³ Anselm was still unwilling because he had not yet won from the king the rights of Canterbury, which his duty required him to do. It was only after additional bargaining with Rufus, and the acquisition of the required commands of William archbishop of Rouen and Robert duke of Normandy, that Anselm felt that he had fulfilled God's requirements in his translation from Bec to Canterbury, for example. And even when the required letters had arrived, he still held back. It was only when the king gave up his attempts to extort Canterbury lands from Anselm, and, with "many tempting promises of good things" that Rufus prevailed on Anselm to receive the Primacy of England, so Eadmer states. And so it was not until the September 25, 1093, that Anselm was consecrated for a second time, "inducted after the manner and precedent of his predecessor," was made the king's man for the tenure of the Canterbury lands, and seised for the lands of the archbishopric, just as Lanfranc had been in his day.⁵⁴

One of Anselm's duties, quite clearly, was to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor as closely as possible. He had obviously been thinking quite intently about such obligations, debts he owed to God and His service, for a long time before his election. But he only wrote *Cur Deus Homo* some years later, discussing the concepts of duty and debt, after his traumatic rule with Rufus. We will return to this subject when we discuss Anselm's exile, 1097–1100.

In 1093, what did his duties to his God, his country and his office entail? What did his God-given stewardship of his office require? Eadmer outlines it quite succinctly in *Historia Novorum*. First and foremost was to maintain the integrity of Canterbury's lands. It was over this issue that Anselm and Rufus clashed even before Anselm's second, official, consecration and enthronement. Recall that Anselm had said that his first consecration was a nullity. All seem to have accepted this principle, for after receiving the letters from Duke Robert and Archbishop William, Eadmer reports that Rufus came to Dover where Anselm was staying, and Anselm took him aside privately. Anselm told him that he still doubted whether he should accept the archbishopric; but should he take it, he would only do so under certain conditions. First, that Rufus restore to its church all the lands of Canterbury, "over which I have been chosen to rule," just as they were held in the time of Archbishop Lanfranc, without any lawsuit or controversy. For other Canterbury lands held before Lanfranc's time, now lost and still not recovered, Rufus must agree to grant Anselm a right and judicial hearing.⁵⁵ Thus first and foremost in Anselm's mind was the recovery

⁵³ Eadmer, VA, 63.

⁵⁴ Eadmer, HN, 39–41.

⁵⁵ Eadmer, HN, 39.

of Canterbury lands. Like any responsible prelate of his age, Anselm must safeguard the lands of his church, received through divine grace, for they were a gift from God.⁵⁶

Secondly, Anselm asked that King William II “in all things that pertain to God and to Christianity ... accept my advice before that of anyone else and, as I am willing to hold you as my earthly lord and protector, so you should hold me as your spiritual father and guardian of your soul.”⁵⁷ Anselm is suggesting a kind of equality, or perhaps equal balance, between king and primate. The archbishop is the king's spiritual father and guardian of his soul, and thus the king must accept his advice above all others. In return, Anselm would hold Rufus as his lord, implying that he would grant the king all the rights of a lord over a vassal. But as lord he must listen first to the archbishop. Eadmer reports that Anselm later expressed his vision of this royal-archiepiscopal balance metaphorically: “You must think of the church as a plough ... In England this plough is drawn by two oxen outstanding above the rest, and these two, by drawing the plough, rule the land: the king and the archbishop of Canterbury. The king rules by secular justice and sovereignty [*imperio*], and the archbishop by divine doctrine and teaching [*magisterio*].”⁵⁸ And there were historical precedents that must be emulated. Eadmer gives two of them, the first in his very first sentence of *Historia Novorum*:

In the reign of the most glorious King Edgar, as he diligently governed the entire realm with righteous laws, Dunstan, priest of Canterbury, a man of unblemished goodness, ordered the whole of Britain by the administration of Christian law. Under his influence and counsel, King Edgar showed himself to be a devoted servant of God all England enjoyed peace and felicity as long as it was fortunate enough to have that king and Father Dunstan in bodily presence.⁵⁹

He then portrays Archbishop Lanfranc and King William I as exactly emulating this ideal relationship:

⁵⁶ Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 150. Cf. the sources cited there: Robert Benson, *The Bishop Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1968), 211 and n. 25; and Margaret Howell, *Regalian Right in Medieval England* (Athlone Press, University of London, London, 1962), 12. Southern, *St. Anselm and his Biographer*, 127, 141–142.

⁵⁷ Eadmer, HN, 40.

⁵⁸ Eadmer, HN, 37.

⁵⁹ Eadmer, HN, 3.

William heeded [Lanfranc's] counsel not merely as one of several advisers but rather as his chief adviser. And since Lanfranc was at the same time totally and extraordinarily devoted to the service of God, he always took pains both to make the king a faithful servant of God and to renew religion and righteous living throughout the kingdom. Nor was his wish denied him. His teaching and perseverance brought a great increase of religion throughout the land.⁶⁰

We may not now be surprised to see that Bede, in his quote of a letter from Pope Gregory I, reports just such a relationship between St. Augustine of Canterbury and King Ethelbert of Kent:

Almighty God raises up certain good men to be rulers over nations in order that he may by their means bestow the gifts of his righteousness upon all those over whom they are set this has happened to the English race over whom [you] are placed ... so, my most illustrious son, watch carefully over the grace you have received from God and hasten to extend the Christian faith among [your subjects] ... by showing them an example of good works⁶¹

Here is a clear historical model of the king's role in the conversion and proper governance of his people, and I have quoted above the relevant portion I think Eadmer, Lanfranc, and Anselm took as a model for their missionizing of England. But Gregory goes on: he urges Ethelbert to be righteously zealous for conversion, suppressing the worship of idols, overthrowing such idols' buildings and shrines. The king must also strengthen his people's morals with his own purity of life, but also by exhorting, terrifying, enticing, and correcting them—in other words, teaching by example and by words. For this monumental task, Gregory offered an historical example or model for Ethelbert to emulate—and a very exalted one: “It was thus that Constantine, the most religious emperor, converted the Roman State from the false worship of idols and subjected it and himself to Almighty God.” It was Constantine's fame that Gregory offered as a carrot: Constantine's reputation surpassed in renown that of all his predecessors. Such a model might well have appealed to the Conqueror as well. But such rulers could not rule alone, nor preside over the church as well as the state, according to Gregory:

... our most reverend brother Bishop Augustine, who was brought up under a monastic rule, is filled with the knowledge of the holy scriptures and endowed

⁶⁰ Eadmer, HN, 12.

⁶¹ Bede, *Ecc. Hist.*, 110–113.

with good works ... so whatever counsel he gives you, listen to it gladly, follow it earnestly, and keep it carefully in mind. If you listen to him as he speaks on behalf of Almighty God, that same Almighty God will listen to him more readily as he prays for you.⁶²

It seems to me evident that Eadmer was clearly drawing on these words, as he portrayed King Edgar and Dunstan, and King William I and Lanfranc as ruling together, side by side, with William always listening first to Lanfranc's advice—and the Bec/Caen/Canterbury community would have well understood this. Anselm's "two oxen" theory clearly reflects this model.

That the monks of Bec so understood the ideal relationship of king and archbishop in England is suggested by a diagram later made by one of Donatus/Donald's co-bishops in Ireland, Gilbert (sometimes called Gille) bishop of Limerick under Anselm's pontificate.⁶³ Gilbert, as Anselm states in a letter to him, became acquainted with Anselm at Rouen "some time ago;" they are, as Anselm states, "united by love,"⁶⁴ one of the terms Anselm uses to describe the relationship between Bec monks, as we have seen. While there is no direct evidence that Gilbert studied with Anselm or was inducted into Bec itself, it might be significant that Saint-Ouen of Rouen was ruled by a Bec monk during Anselm's abbacy, which may have been the connection Anselm made with Gilbert in Rouen.⁶⁵ Whatever the case, Anselm gives Gilbert instructions to strive diligently, by his episcopal rule, to correct vices and teach good morals to the Irish, attracting both the king and the other bishops, and anyone else he could, through persuasion—I think he means teaching here—and through showing them—I think he means by his own example here. Thus Anselm seems to be telling Gilbert to teach by word and example. This letter suggests that Gilbert shared in the Bec/Caen/Canterbury mentality—although correcting vices, teaching good morals, and teaching by word and deed are by no means exclusive to Bec thinking, nevertheless they were central to it. And Eadmer's and Anselm's vision of king and archbishop ruling as equals was shared by few

⁶² Bede, *Ecl. Hist.*, 112–113.

⁶³ Durham Cathedral ms B. II. 35, fol. 36v, printed in R.A.B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1939), 47. And also printed in Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 152.

⁶⁴ Anselm, Ep. 429. See also 428, from Gilbert to Anselm. Both letters must have been written after Anselm's return from his second exile in 1106.

⁶⁵ John Fleming, *Gille of Limerick c. 1070–1145: Architect of a Medieval Church* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2001), thinks Gilbert probably received his education in northern France at the time he met with Anselm. Gilbert wrote two important tracts, *De usu ecclesie* and *De statu ecclesie*, which Fleming translates here.

others in England not part of the Bec confraternity. Gilbert, however, did seem to share this concept.

In a diagram accompanying his tract *De statu ecclesia*, Gilbert portrayed the world as a vast pyramid—or rather, a vast Gothic arch, suggesting almost a cathedral, with smaller Gothic arches within it pyramided on a descending scale. The cathedral shape suggests that it represents the universe, as a gothic cathedral does, with Christ at the pinnacle, ruling the entire universe. Christendom is ruled by two equals, pope and emperor, as equal triangles within the arch, on an equal level, on either side of and just somewhat below Christ. Directly under Christ are two equal triangles on equal levels labeled king and primate. Within the great arch of the universe are two smaller arches of equal size with king and primate at an equal level at their apexes. Here, kings and primates are also rendered as three triangles within a larger triangle—a puzzling image. Beneath these are pyramids—or rather pyramidal Gothic arches—of authority equating archbishop with duke, bishop with count, and priest with knight. Thus secular and ecclesiastical offices are exactly equal and parallel. This model mirrors and indeed elaborates and extends Anselm's vision of the equality and shared rule of England's king and primate, based on the authority of Pope Gregory I's letter to King Ethelbert of Kent.⁶⁶ That Anselm had this missionary model in mind is suggested by his advice to King William Rufus—at least as Eadmer reports it—as the king was poised to invade Normandy just after Anselm's consecration:

You have, my Lord King, determined to cross the sea and to subdue Normandy. That these and other projects on which you have set your heart may turn out prosperously, as you would wish, I beg you first of all to give help and guidance, to secure that in this your kingdom Christianity, which among the inhabitants has almost entirely died out, may be restored to its rightful place.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ The triangles in the diagram also suggest an interesting possibility. Christ is represented as the triangle ruling over the universe, and emperor and pope and king and archbishop are also represented as triangles. Christ obviously is the Trinity—the Triune God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. I have argued elsewhere that Anselm, in his letters to Henry I's Queen Matilda, portrayed her as both equal in status and power to the king, and also equal in status and power to England's archbishop. Vaughn, *St. Anselm and the Handmaidens*. If the king and the queen are equals, the king and the archbishop are equals, and the archbishop and the queen are equals, then we have a trinity of archbishop, king and queen ruling England in Anselm's view. Did each triangle—king and archbishop—represent such a triune rule? And if so, did Gilbert extend this theory to emperor and pope? We cannot answer these questions here, but they are intriguing. Only a close analysis of Gilbert's tract, *De statu ecclesiae*, accompanying the diagram, can reveal more clearly Gilbert's meaning. The diagram may be found in Durham Cathedral ms. B. II 35 fol. 36v. A photograph of it is in Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 152.

⁶⁷ Eadmer, HN, 48.

Anselm also envisioned the Primacy of Canterbury as having a very special place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy not only of Britain, but of all Christendom. Anselm was not a Gregorian, but viewed his relationship to the Roman papacy as one of respect but of limited subordination—obedience from a distance. The archbishop necessarily received his pallium from the pope—his license to rule—and would obey him regarding broad matters applying to the whole of Christendom. But the English church belonged solely to Canterbury's rule. Papal legates were usually unwelcome in England. Only once in the Conqueror's reign were they tolerated and allowed to preside over a council: in 1070 when they deposed Stigand from Canterbury. Pope Alexander, after ordering Lanfranc to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury, then granted him *de facto* legatine powers in 1071.⁶⁸ Thereafter Lanfranc presided over all English councils and synods, and Anselm sought to follow his model, as we shall see.

More suggestive of Canterbury's singular status and relative autonomy from Rome are several statements describing Anselm as "Pope of Another World." Eadmer describes Pope Urban II as welcoming Anselm to Rome in 1098 with these words: "We regard him as if he were our equal—*comparem*—just as by right (or even by law—*jure*) he should be venerated like the apostle and patriarch of another world."⁶⁹ William of Malmesbury quotes Urban as saying, at the Council of Bari, "Let us take this man into our world; for he is as it were the pope of another world."⁷⁰ The Winchester annalist described Anselm as "Anselm Papa" in 1102, and Eadmer went even further, describing Canterbury as "*totius Brittanie mater*."⁷¹

At Anselm's second consecration, Eadmer reports that Bec student Thomas, now archbishop of York, objected strenuously to the writ of election that called Anselm metropolitan of all Britain, forcing its change to Primate of all Britain, on the legal grounds that otherwise York would cease to be a metropolitan—and all agreed.⁷² The term "Primate of all Britain" occurs in every written profession to Anselm during his archiepiscopate.⁷³ Eadmer clarified what this meant in his

⁶⁸ Lanfranc, Ep. 7, ll. 41–44. On Canterbury's views of legates and legatine councils, see Martin Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1975), 35–36; Southern, *St. Anselm and his Biographer*, 132; Frank Barlow, *The English Church, 1066–1154* (Longman, London, 1979), 107.

⁶⁹ Eadmer, VA, 105: "Et quasi comparem velut alterius orbis apostolicum et patriarcham jure venerandum censeamus."

⁷⁰ GP, 1:154–155: "Includamus' inquit 'hunc in orbe nostro quasi alterius orbis papam.'"

⁷¹ Brett, *English Church*, 12, 14, 69 n. 2.

⁷² Eadmer, HN, 16, 42.

⁷³ *Canterbury Professions*, ed. Michael Richter (Devonshire Press, Torquay, 1973), nos. 50a–61; cf. p. lxix, n. 2.

account of Lanfranc's primacy: Canterbury was the "very mother of the whole of England, Scotland and Ireland and of the adjacent isles."⁷⁴ That Anselm agreed is clear in a charter to Norwich Cathedral Priory, where he refers to himself as "Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of Great Britain and Ireland—*Cantuariensis archiepiscopus et majoris Brittanie atque Hybernie primas*"—and to Canterbury as the see "which is first of all the churches of England—*que omnium ecclesiarum totius Anglie prima est*."⁷⁵ Eadmer quoted Anselm as saying that "the archbishop of Canterbury is Primate of England, Scotland, Ireland and the adjacent isles ...,"⁷⁶ by which, as we shall see, he meant Orkney.

Thus even before his second, and legitimate, consecration, Anselm had a clear view of the theoretical status and duties of his new office. He was to secure the Canterbury lands and retrieve any that were lost, restoring to Canterbury its lawful possessions. He was to establish a state of governance in England in which king and archbishop ruled as equals side by side, in a careful and delicate balance in which the king remained lord over the primate but cared for the preservation of religion for his people by giving ear to the primate as his chief advisor in all matters. Finally, he was to establish Canterbury's primacy—with all the rights that entailed—not only over England, but over all Britain and the adjacent isles—Scotland, Ireland, and the Orkneys. This statement constitutes Anselm's political philosophy.

Under William Rufus, Anselm tried his best to bring this ideal theoretical state of affairs into actuality, but the king resisted with all his might everything Anselm attempted. Anselm knew this would happen even before he was consecrated officially, objecting to the bishops and barons that they were yoking an old sheep to a wild bull—in a clear reference to his two-oxen theory, which he had just articulated.⁷⁷ Let us now turn to this story of the feeble old sheep yoked to the untamed bull and its consequences for Anselm's archiepiscopate. Although our purpose in this book is to tell Anselm's story through his letters, there is a great lacuna in Anselm's letter collection, Lambeth 59, during the reign of William Rufus. Only two of his letters deal with his relationship with the second King William, and they are extremely sparse, summarizing Rufus's reign and Anselm's role in it in the barest outline. To Pope Urban, Epistle 206 in Part II below, he wrote that Rufus had seized the lands of the church, required heavy services not customary to the archbishop of Canterbury which were against the laws of God and the canons, so that these were overthrown. To Pope Paschal, in

⁷⁴ Eadmer, HN, 26.

⁷⁵ *The Charters of Norwich Cathedral Priory*, pt. 1, ed. Barbara Dodwell (Pipe Roll Society, London, 1974), no. 260.

⁷⁶ Eadmer, HN, 189.

⁷⁷ Eadmer, HN, 37.

Epistle 210, in Part II below, he wrote that under William Rufus he saw many evils he could not condone committed against the laws and the will of God. He could not go to Rome to consult the pope, nor could the pope send him letters or receive his letters. Rufus allowed no church councils to be held, and seized church lands to give to his men. Thus, whoever collected Anselm's archiepiscopal letters as they are copied in Lambeth 59—and as I have said above I believe it was Anselm himself—edited out most of Anselm's letters concerning William Rufus except these two, and two concerning Walter of Albano, the papal legate who brought Anselm's pallium to Canterbury. This, I think, is what Anselm wished to reveal to posterity. But Eadmer, Anselm's secretary, took notes on events, and wrote them up—much to Anselm's consternation. For Anselm ordered Eadmer to destroy what he had written. Eadmer did so, but first made a copy of them which he used later to write two biographies of Anselm: *Vita Anselmi* and *Historia Novorum*. It was in the latter of these that we learn of Anselm's two-oxen theory, repeated in the histories of William of Malmesbury, and it is with these two detailed accounts that we will begin to reconstruct Anselm's archiepiscopal career under King William Rufus.

This page has been left blank intentionally

Chapter 4

An Old Sheep Yoked to a Wild Bull: Archbishop Anselm and King William Rufus

According to Eadmer, after King William Rufus heard that Anselm had, at the English bishops' request, written a prayer to be said throughout all England that God might, of his goodness, put it into the heart of the king to appoint a pastor for the vacant archbishopric of Canterbury, one of the "princes of the land" took William Rufus aside to advise him.¹ The baron told him that Anselm was a man of such holiness as was suitable for the office. "His love is on God alone, his desire ... on nothing temporal," adding that the archbishopric was the last thing that Anselm wanted. This very perceptive magnate well understood the *topos* of reluctance—and probably understood Anselm as well.

But in reply, Rufus mocked that Anselm "would applaud with hands and feet and run to embrace it" if offered the archbishopric. "By the Holy Face at Lucca, at present neither he nor anyone else shall be archbishop except me!" At that very moment, Eadmer relates, Rufus was struck with a violent illness, taking to his bed and becoming worse each day, and at last came to the brink of death. All the "princes" from all over the land assembled—bishops, abbots, and nobles. Anselm, although nearby, nevertheless knew nothing of this, and was summoned to comfort Rufus in his last hours. Meanwhile, the princes advised the king to correct the problems of England—to release prisoners, remit arrears of fines, restore the oppressed churches—but most of all appoint an archbishop of Canterbury. But Rufus listened to no one until Anselm arrived, at whose advice he issued a written proclamation (now lost) confirmed with the king's seal attached, as a vow and promise to God before the altar. It proclaimed the release of all prisoners in his dominions, remitted irrevocably all fines, and pardoned all offences, erasing them from memory. Moreover, he promised to all his people good and righteous laws, unflinching observance of rights and thorough

¹ This prince may well have been Robert of Meulan, who, I have argued elsewhere, was the king's chief adviser: Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 164, cf. 146.

examination of wrongs committed to deter others from doing such wrongs.² This proclamation was, in fact, a restatement of the promises Lanfranc had forced from Rufus four years before—with the addition of a promise to follow Lanfranc’s bidding and counsel,³ but apparently not in a public proclamation, made at the altar. When the restated proclamation was published in 1093, “Everywhere was rejoicing,” and praise to God at these good things. Everyone offered “fervent prayers for the recovery of so good, so great a king.”⁴

Thus, in Eadmer’s florid account of Rufus’s reign, God struck down the king for both insulting Anselm and claiming the king himself would be archbishop. Clearly if this latter condition came to reality, whether the king meant it or was merely joking, it would upset the delicate balance between king and archbishop as two oxen yoked together that Anselm saw as “due order” in England—a statement he would make in the course of immediately following events, and so quite probably had thought about and believed even before he became archbishop. As for Rufus, Anselm called him a wild bull to whom as archbishop Anselm, an old ewe, would be yoked. This image of weak female ewe yoked to the ferocious male wild bull, juxtaposed to Anselm’s ideal of two equal oxen yoked to England’s plow of the church, suggests a joke on Anselm’s part—or at least an image of a potential rape, rather than a legitimate marriage (if such could be between two oxen). In Anselm’s words as quoted by Eadmer, *inconsiderate ovem tauro copulastis*.⁵

In Eadmer’s account, the wild bull raged on. Atoning for his sins, hoping to avoid death, Rufus promised just and righteous laws for his kingdom, and thus regained huge popularity with the people. The implication is that Anselm’s kingdom-wide prayer had seriously undercut the king’s reputation, so much so that one of his magnates had suggested to him actually appointing Anselm as archbishop.⁶ William of Malmesbury says that Rufus habitually turned matters aside with a jest, and reports that Rufus was angry about the kingdom-wide prayer, jesting that “You can pray what you wish. I will do what I like: no one’s prayers will ever shake my resolve.” Moreover, Rufus’s statement that he himself would be archbishop, William says, the king repeated “many a time;” William

² Eadmer, HN, 29–32. GP, 1:118–119, omits the reference to a signed and sealed proclamation, and emphasizes the king’s habitual use of humor.

³ Eadmer, HN, 25.

⁴ Eadmer, HN, 29–32.

⁵ Eadmer, HN, 36.

⁶ William had faced a rebellion in 1088, described below, and would face another one in January 1095 (which had been brewing for some time)—the second connected to several supporters of Bec, as we shall see. William of Malmesbury says that Rufus’s mistakes, which he tried to cover up with jests, caused his unpopularity: GR, 1:556–557.

continued his account, stating merely that soon the king fell seriously ill, not directly connecting the illness with Rufus's provocative statements, as Eadmer does.⁷ Indeed, William says that Rufus "relied much on jest to carry a point, being in particular a merry critic of his own mistakes, so as to reduce the unpopularity they caused and dissolve it in laughter."⁸ Could this have been such a case—that William saw that he had made a mistake in failing to appoint an archbishop, and now sought to rectify it? But Anselm had escalated the seriousness of the king's actions by coming to England and promoting a kingdom-wide prayer that the archbishopric be filled—and he was clearly the best candidate to all observers. Moreover, Eadmer treated Rufus's statement as serious, not a joke at all, thus implying the king's impiety.

As we shall see, Rufus recovered quite quickly—suspiciously quickly—from his deathly illness after Anselm's forced investiture,⁹ and then attempted to bully Anselm into bending to his royal will in many ways. These facts raise the interesting possibility that Rufus may have feigned his illness as a response to Anselm's prayer, issuing his proclamation to regain his lost popularity but claiming publicly that it was in response to his illness, and thus saving face. This of course is only speculation, but there are several other instances of probably feigned—or at least suspiciously convenient—illnesses elsewhere in Eadmer's account.¹⁰ Whether or not Rufus indeed used such a feigned illness as a political tactic, Anselm was up against a very shrewd and clever politician in his new role

⁷ GP, 1:118–119.

⁸ GR, 1:556–557.

⁹ Recall that Anselm was grabbed and forcibly dragged to this first consecration, crying "This is a nullity," Chapter 3. In Ep. 198, printed below in Part II, 3e, Anselm himself says he was "dragged to the episcopal throne." We shall return to a fuller description of this forced investiture below.

¹⁰ One suspects that the earlier reported deathly illness of Hugh earl of Chester—because of which Anselm was forced to cross over to England—was also either imagined or feigned, for Hugh lived on. Later, during the Investiture Contest, when Anselm threatened to travel to Normandy to excommunicate King Henry I, the king's sister Adela of Blois called Anselm to come to her to minister to her illness. He arrived to find her well recovered, but her brother there so that Anselm and Henry could come to a compromise that Pope Paschal later ratified as settling the English Investiture Contest. See Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 283–293. Anselm himself suffered several very convenient illnesses: one which kept him from travelling to Rome in 1197, when he knew Pope Urban would not help his cause; and one in 1105, when King Henry desperately needed Anselm to return to England to ratify publicly the settlement between king and archbishop. Anselm's illness forced Henry to travel to Bec instead for the public celebration of the new accord between king and archbishop. Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 204–205; 299–304. Eadmer reports that William Warelwast doubted Anselm's illness which kept him at Bec in 1106, HN, 181.

as archbishop and primate. The wild bull had seriously menacing horns. As we shall see, Anselm himself finally declared that he knew the king would recover.

Rufus was capable of extraordinary manipulations and political tactics. William of Malmesbury reported an instance of Rufus's political shrewdness in the struggles during Odo of Bayeux's and others' 1088 attempts, on behalf of Rufus's brother Robert Curthose, to wrench the kingdom from him. William reports that Roger of Montgomery, secretly allied with the Curthose faction, still remained in Rufus's entourage. The king took Roger aside, and "with equal skill" to Rufus's successful tactics of winning over the English, got around Roger by loading him with compliments and promising him money and land; but, Rufus emphasized, "do not have my father's wisdom called in question; if you think he was wrong about me [i.e. choosing Rufus as king of England over Robert Curthose], take care that this does not reflect on yourselves. The same man who made me king chose you as magnates." This line of argument, plus the promises of wealth and land, won over Roger of Montgomery.¹¹ Lanfranc may well have been guiding the king, schooling him in these tactics, for it was Lanfranc who told the astonished Rufus to "arrest [Bishop Odo] and lock him up!" to put an end to the rebellion. Rufus protested, "What! A clergyman!" to which Lanfranc replied, "No ... you will not be arresting the bishop of Bayeux, you will be taking into custody the earl of Kent."¹² So it appears to have been Archbishop Lanfranc who here showed the king a practical way out of such difficult questions as how the loyalty of the clergy should be treated in such a case: by separating ecclesiastical responsibility and duty—that of a bishop—from secular responsibilities—that of an earl.

That King William Rufus used these types of shrewd tactics in his dealings with Anselm is clear in the story of the remainder of his reign. Time and again Rufus managed to place Anselm in untenable positions, demanding concessions to which Anselm, with his theories of "due order" for England, Canterbury, and all Britain, could not assent. These tactics began immediately on Rufus's appointment of Anselm as archbishop. As all the bishops, abbots, and barons were gathered around the presumably dying king's bedside in 1093, all that remained for the king to do to "save his soul" at the brink of death was to appoint an archbishop of Canterbury, which would crown his proclamation of right and just laws for the people of England with the finishing flourish. Everyone present, all "with one voice" acclaimed his choice of Anselm to fill the see of Canterbury, now vacant for four years. In a long and detailed account, Eadmer, followed by William of Malmesbury, relates how aghast Anselm was, turning deathly pale.

¹¹ GR, 1:546–547.

¹² GR, 1:544–545.

Anselm seems to have been very surprised by his sudden episcopal appointment. He was then carried to the king's bedside "*to receive from him the investiture of the archbishopric by the pastoral staff*," resisting with all his might. The bishops took him aside, asking him, "what are you thinking? Have you lost your wits? ... the church of Canterbury, whose oppression is the oppression and ruin of us all, calls you ... implores you to be her deliverer and ours. Why do you refuse to share the labours of your brethren and care only for your own selfish ease?" Anselm offered many objections—he was old, a monk unfit for worldly business, and owed obedience to a prince and an archbishop "in another kingdom"—meaning, of course, Normandy. At that, the bishops promised that they would not fail to do his work for him, and to follow his directions obediently. Permissions from duke and archbishop could be acquired easily.¹³

But William of Malmesbury quotes the bishops as saying that all Anselm had to do was say publicly what he wanted done, *in the sphere of religion*, and they would come to his aid. This qualification is very important, limiting Anselm's authority strictly to the spiritual realm. While he prayed to God, the bishops said, they would take care of any external business that arose. This limitation to spiritual matters alone would abrogate Anselm's claim to serve as a co-ox—a co-ruler—with the king in all matters, both spiritual and secular. It would also prevent him from recovering lost Canterbury lands. "But Anselm foresaw the future, and eluded all their arguments with a smooth reply,"¹⁴ which we summarized above: he was old and sick, a monk, and a foreign abbot under the rule of others.

We must mark three points here: First, Anselm seems to have been taken by surprise. Second, what horrified him was not especially that he was to be invested by the king's hand with his episcopal ring and staff, but rather that the bishops wanted to limit his power to the spiritual realm—which they stated explicitly—restricting his temporal influence over the king in matters such as control of lands, for example. Moreover, it symbolized the king's control of spiritual power as well as temporal power. Anselm saw these implications immediately. His predecessor as archbishop, Lanfranc, had accepted the office at the orders of both the archbishop of Rouen and Pope Alexander II, at the request of the Conqueror, as we have seen. Here, no mention had been made of such archiepiscopal or papal

¹³ Eadmer, HN, 32. It is quite possible that William of Malmesbury's statements are made from the perspective of the 1120s, when the issue of lay investiture, now outlawed by agreement of king and pope, was much clearer to everyone. Nevertheless, Eadmer made a point that Anselm was aghast at the prospect of his investiture—and it appears, from his following account, that it was not so much investiture that Anselm objected to, as the limitation of his role as co-ruler with the king.

¹⁴ GP, 1:120–121.

appointment: Anselm was being rushed to accept the office from the hand of the king alone—although with a kind of acclamation from the bishops, abbots, and barons. Third, it seems clear from these two accounts that the bishops were in collusion with the king, in essence calling Anselm's bluff: his statement that he was just a simple monk unfit for business, telling Anselm to spend all his time praying and they would take care of the secular business of the archbishopric.¹⁵

This proposed arrangement would, of course, deprive Anselm of any real political power, and of a role as chief advisor to and co-ruler with the king, as his predecessor Lanfranc had served the Conqueror.¹⁶ The bishops then dragged Anselm to the supposedly sick king, who cried out in tears, "O Anselm, what are you doing?" recalling to Anselm his friendship with Rufus's father and mother. "Help me, help me; I am convinced I shall perish in body and soul alike if I end my life holding the archbishopric in my own hand." Then the barons took Anselm aside, saying "What madness has overtaken you?" He was told he was killing the king, and might well be killing the kingdom also, as disorders, oppressions, and wrongs descended upon it from his refusal to accept the care of Canterbury.¹⁷ They implied to Anselm a public outcry and even hinted at rebellion if Anselm were not installed in the archiepiscopate—and it would be Anselm's fault.

Anselm was caught in a serious bind: we saw above that Anselm was convinced that God wanted him to undertake the governance of Canterbury, probably the reason he came to England in 1092. Now the king seemed to be fulfilling his wish—but in a way that would undermine all Anselm's powers to govern all Britain according to his concept of due order. Rufus was forcing him to accept the archbishopric from the king's own hand alone, without the mandate of either the pope or Anselm's immediate superiors in Normandy, on the model of Lanfranc's appointment, and the bishops and barons were colluding with the king thus to emasculate Anselm's future archiepiscopal power before he even received it.

¹⁵ Interestingly, this statement echoes Charlemagne's statement to Pope Leo III: "This is our duty: to defend the Holy Church of Christ against the incursions of Pagans and the devastations of the unfaithful from without," with our arms, "and to fortify the church from within with the knowledge of the Catholic faith. This is your duty: to raise your hands to God ..." in prayer. *Epistolarum Karolinae Aevi*, vol. 2, in *MGH*, ed. E. Dümmler (Weideman, Berlin, 1895), 136–138. Could the bishops have known this letter? Or meant this statement as a joke? If so, it would derail their intent of gaining Anselm's assent to the office. It seems to me more likely that Eadmer meant it to be read as a joke by the reader, who might see it as a ridiculous proposal—perhaps alluding to Charlemagne's equally ridiculous proposal to Pope Leo III.

¹⁶ See Eadmer, HN, 12 for Eadmer's statement that such was the relationship between Lanfranc and William I.

¹⁷ Eadmer, HN, 33–35.

Growing angry with Anselm's reluctance, barons and bishops all cried, "Fetch the pastoral staff, the pastoral staff!" They seized his right arm, some dragging him and some pushing from behind "to bring him to the king's bedside." It was then that they tried to force open his clenched fist, finger by finger, and stuff the pastoral staff against his palm. Failing that, they forced the staff against his clenched fist, with their own hands pressed around it. It was now that they sang the *Te Deum* and carried him to the church, with Anselm crying all the while "This is a nullity!" And immediately after the rituals in the church, Anselm told the king that he could clearly see that the king was not dying and would not die of his present illness, and Rufus had better set right what he had just done, for Anselm had not consented to it, nor did he now. Anselm had clearly understood the theatrical event Rufus and his advisors had just staged—and its implications, as he made clear to Rufus. "Having said this, Anselm turned and withdrew from his presence."¹⁸ Undeterred, the king, according to William of Malmesbury, immediately gave orders for a public pronouncement of Anselm's appointment and investiture, and sealed it with a formal grant to Anselm "outright—*ex solido*," presumably also publicly, of the city of Canterbury, which Lanfranc had held only "by favour—*ex beneficio*." Anselm went off to his estates, and the king immediately recovered fully.¹⁹

This passage in *Historia Novorum*, augmented by *Gesta Pontificum*, has been misread for generations. It is always taken to show Anselm's monastic devotion, hatred of business, and unwillingness to become archbishop. And on a superficial reading, this is what Eadmer says. But, as I have argued elsewhere, Anselm taught his Bec students to read texts on four different levels: literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical—and to write texts in this layered way as well. So, I have contended, Gilbert Crispin wrote *Vita Herluini*, as a kind of textbook for the school of Bec; and so, I have suggested much more briefly, did Eadmer write *Historia Novorum*.²⁰ On the literal level, this account of Anselm's investiture at King William II's hand shows Anselm, a simple, saintly monk, strenuously resisting high office. Looking at the passage more deeply, on a moral level, it shows Rufus craftily and duplicitously tricking Anselm with a lie—his feigned illness—into coming to the king's bedside where Anselm could be grabbed and forced into the archbishopric completely on the king's terms, with the collusion of the royalist barons and bishops, and with no recognition of Anselm's views of what that office entailed. On an allegorical level, Anselm then explained to all the bishops and nobles, "You are trying to harness together at the plow under

¹⁸ Eadmer, HN, 34–36.

¹⁹ GP, 1:122–125.

²⁰ Vaughn, "Anselm of Bec: The Pattern of his Teaching," 118–127.

one yoke an untamed bull and an old and feeble sheep,” going on to explicate his two-oxen theory of king and archbishop pulling the plow of the church through England, the king with his *imperium* and the archbishop with his *magisterium*. On an anagogical level, he quoted the Apostle: “Ye are God’s husbandry; ye are God’s building.”²¹ To those in the know, who knew their Bible well, this passage would recall the sentences that preceded it: “Now he that plants and he that waters are one, and every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour. For we are labourers together with God.”²² This passage suggests Anselm’s claim that king and archbishop should be partners in the rule of England. Of course such layered writing and reading of texts was not limited to Bec and its men. Nevertheless, it formed a part of their training. And it must be recalled that Eadmer was reporting the events of the 1090s to an audience of the 1110s and 1120s in the ways he wanted them to interpret these events.

Such is the way this first part of *Historia Novorum*, on the reign of William Rufus, is written, and such is it to be read. The barebones, unvarnished facts are to be read literally, and amplified by applying the reader’s intelligent discernment—for example, to understand that the duplicitous king, in a morally reprehensible way, deceived the people of England with his seemingly admirable proclamation, apparently in response to his illness; and, by the same duplicity tricked Anselm to his bedside to be seized and forced into office by his equally duplicitous courtier-bishops and barons. The allegory of old sheep and wild bull gives the reader a clue to the story’s moral interpretation, and the two-oxen theory, plus the biblical injunction to shepherd your flock and build for God, as Anselm explains in a long excursus mentioning the wool, milk, and lambs that might serve God were it not for the king’s fury crushing Anselm. These words guide the reader to the anagogical, or divine, interpretation, based on St. Paul’s injunction to work together as equals for God’s plan. In Eadmer’s account, Anselm concludes with a warning: “When I have been crushed and there is not one of you who would dare to oppose the king in anything, then without any doubt he will not hesitate to trample on you, too, in whatever way his whim inclines him.”²³ This is the prophesy to which William of Malmesbury alluded. We will see in Anselm’s letters in Part II, 4c and 4d, further references to Rufus’s rule by whim rather than by custom and law. While we cannot deconstruct every single incident in the first half of *Historia Novorum* on the reign of William Rufus in as much detail as we have done with Anselm’s election and forced consecration, in the rest of this chapter, I will summarize each

²¹ Eadmer, HN, 36.

²² I Corinthians 3:9.

²³ Eadmer, HN, 36–37.

incident as I have read it in this way, leaving the reader to consult the whole of Eadmer's intricate and sophisticated history of Anselm's archiepiscopate.²⁴

Anselm's battles were only beginning, and Rufus would prove to be a shrewd, clever, and formidable opponent. The king's chief advisor, Robert of Meulan, articulated a political philosophy that partially explains Rufus's thoughts and actions. Although Orderic reported it as advice to King Henry I in the invasion-rebellion crisis of 1101, and I have discussed it elsewhere,²⁵ I think that it is equally relevant to Rufus's reign and is well worth repeating in this context:

We ... to whom the common utility is committed by Divine Providence, ought to seek after the safety of the kingdom and of the church of God. Let our chief care be to triumph peacefully without the shedding of Christian blood, and so that our faithful people may live in the security of peace Speak gently to all your knights; caress them all as a father does his children; soothe them with promises; grant whatever they might request, and in this manner cleverly draw all to your favour. If they should even ask for London or York, do not hesitate to give away a small portion of the kingdom rather than to lose both victory and life to a host of enemies. And when, by God's aid, we have come safely to the end of this business, we will suggest useful measures for recovering the demesnes usurped by rash deserters in time of war.²⁶

First, we have already seen William Rufus using these very political tactics in the earliest years of his reign, cleverly drawing Roger of Montgomery to his favour with smooth words and promises in the midst of rebellion, suggesting that he shared Robert of Meulan's rather Machiavellian views. Indeed, Rufus, perhaps with Robert's advice, was using these same tactics on Anselm in 1093, at Anselm's forced investiture. Second, Robert's statement of his view of English kingship mirrors that of Rufus: the king alone—guided by his baronial advisors—is responsible for the safety and peace of both the kingdom and the church committed to his care. There is no place in this plan for the archbishop of Canterbury, as Rufus clearly stated when he claimed he himself would be his own archbishop of Canterbury. Interestingly, this political methodology resembles somewhat Anselm's own teaching methods, which Eadmer characterized as "holy guile," as Anselm taught Osbern and other students with promises and

²⁴ There is in process the preparation of a new edition of Bosanquet's translation of *Historia Novorum*, with the addition of the untranslated Books 5 and 6 in a new translation, with an extensive introduction and extensive footnotes added, under the hands of Giles Gaspar and Sally Vaughn.

²⁵ Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 165 ff.

²⁶ OV, 5:316.

blandishments, slowly leading them to an upright life, when he could withdraw such concessions made to their youth. Perhaps certain laymen were profiting from Anselm's teaching as well as his monks, in unexpected ways.

Now let us consider William of Malmesbury's statement that William Rufus was "brought up ... by his parents with the greatest care;" and that he had been raised and educated by Lanfranc, "who had nurtured him—*nutrieret*—and made him a knight. *Nutrieret* suggests more than just rearing, for Anselm uses this very word in his prayer to St. Paul in describing St. Paul not only as a mother like Christ, but as a foster-mother, a nurse or nurturer, *nutritor*, through whom his foster-child can be reborn, as Paul himself was reborn at his conversion.²⁷ The Conqueror's great care in seeing to Rufus's education, and Lanfranc's role as a *nutritor*—a guardian and guide—suggests that Rufus may have understood the thinking current at Bec—its missionary mentality and its theories that in England, king and archbishop were co-rulers on the model of King Ethelbert and Archbishop Augustine, to whom Ethelbert was commanded by Pope Gregory the Great to listen to as he speaks on behalf of God,²⁸ even before Anselm articulated his two-oxen theory.

Rufus was crowned king with Lanfranc's authority and assent—*auctore et annitente ...*²⁹ Malmesbury also reports that Lanfranc used a lot of humor in influencing the Conqueror. He "managed the king with a holy skill—*ille sancta tractabat arte*—not sternly upbraiding what he did wrong, but spicing serious language with jokes—*sed seria iocis condiendo*." In this way Lanfranc could usually bring the Conqueror "back to a right mind, and mould him to [Lanfranc's] own opinions—*itaque eum plerumque ad sanitatem revocabat, sententiae suae conformando*."³⁰ Malmesbury says that Lanfranc tolerated William I's "extraordinary arrogance" because he had no choice: "he could not stand up against his vices. But he studied his character, chose time and place, and made quiet interventions and timely suggestions, chipping away at some things, and reducing the effects of others."³¹ Lanfranc's *sancta ars*—holy skill—recalls Anselm's *sancta calliditas*—holy guile—in his rearing of the monk Osbern at

²⁷ Anselm, Prayer to St. Paul, in *Anselmi Opera Omnia*, 3:39–40, where he calls St. Paul "dulcis nutrix, dulcis mater, quos filios paraturis aut nutris, nisi quos in fide Christi docendo gignis et erudis? Aut quis Christianus post te doctrina tua non est in fide natus et confirmatus? Nam etsi benedicta fides ista ab aliis quoque apostolis nobis nata sit et nutrita: utique magis a te, quia plus omnibus in hoc laborasti et effecisti. Cum ergo illi sint nobis matres, tu magis nostra mater." And he goes on to equate foster-mothering with baptism.

²⁸ Bede, *Ecc. Hist.*, 112–113.

²⁹ GR, 1:542–545.

³⁰ GP, 1:90–91.

³¹ GP, 1:96–97.

Bec, flattering the boy with kindly blandishments, bearing indulgently his boyish pranks, and—without detriment to the Rule—allowing “him many things to delight his youth and to tame his unbridled spirit. The youth rejoiced in these favours, and gradually his spirit was weaned from its wildness. He began to love Anselm, to listen to his advice, and to refashion his way of life.”³² Thus Lanfranc managed the Conqueror, and so must he have reared and managed the younger William, Rufus. But Rufus was a shrewd, intelligent and competent man, and clearly he learned Lanfranc’s management techniques; as we have seen, he used just such tactics on Roger of Montgomery and, with Lanfranc’s help, on Odo of Bayeux. He also had other advisors such as Robert of Meulan advocating the same kind of political tactics.

While Lanfranc lived, Rufus behaved himself: Rufus was a man of high principles. It was only on Lanfranc’s death that the king’s “love of good grew cold, and the undesirable features warmed into life within him, like springing grain.”³³ Rufus may well have understood Lanfranc’s reform of the English church through the many Bec monks he installed in England’s abbeys; and he must have understood Lanfranc’s reliance on Bede’s history as a legal text, showing King Ethelbert and Archbishop Augustine as joint rulers, as a pattern for England’s monarchy. If we consider Rufus not as a man gripped by evil intent and greed, out to destroy the church; nor as a man gripped by incomprehensible insanity—both ways in which Eadmer portrays him; but rather as originally a man of high principle, carefully raised by his parents and Lanfranc, as William of Malmesbury portrays him,³⁴ and also as an intelligent, shrewd, and capable person, as we have seen him in his first struggle with Roger of Montgomery, then we must reconsider the course of events during the first years of Anselm’s archiepiscopate.

These years boil down to a continuous duel or chess game between king and archbishop. Anselm, although invested, was not yet consecrated, and so could still bargain with the king—he had an escape route that could still damage the king. Although Anselm had resigned from Bec and returned his abbatial staff to the Bec monks, telling them he was destined for Canterbury, he now told the king he would only accept the archbishopric if Canterbury lands were restored just as they were in Lanfranc’s time, and if Rufus would accept Anselm as his spiritual father and guardian of his soul—as a co-ox. The king at first agreed to

³² Eadmer, VA, 16–17.

³³ GR, 1:554–555.

³⁴ GR, 1:554–555; 542–545. Malmesbury says he is “ashamed to speak evil of so great a king,” and is “devoting his efforts to refuting or palliating the evil spoken of him.” In short, he is attempting to resuscitate Rufus’s reputation, and to balance Eadmer’s fervent vilification of the Red King with a modicum of truth. GR, 1:560–561.

restore the lands, then later qualified it by asking Anselm to relinquish claim to estates on which Rufus had enfeoffed his knights.³⁵ William of Malmesbury says he “worked on Anselm with winning flatteries to make him agree to transfer them” to Rufus’s knights “in perpetuity.” Anselm’s flat refusal roused the king to anger: he stopped the proceedings for Anselm’s consecration.³⁶ Thereupon there arose a great general outcry, so the king dropped the matter, and finally, in September 1093, Anselm was consecrated, after rendering homage to the king and being seised of the archiepiscopal lands “in the manner and on the precedent of his predecessors”³⁷—but only after Rufus had “poured out vast promises” to Anselm.³⁸ Almost immediately Anselm began seeking and obtaining written professions of obedience from his suffragan bishops as they were consecrated. He consecrated churches without consulting the bishops, and dispensed personally or through his representatives all sacred offices throughout all his lands.³⁹ Shortly thereafter, at Rufus’s Christmas court, the king, planning a second Norman campaign, asked for “voluntary” gifts from his vassals. Anselm, newly consecrated, feared such a gift from him to the king would be viewed by some as simony.

As a lord over many vassals, and needing money for his Norman campaign, Rufus probably thought his request quite reasonable. By his homage to Rufus, Anselm had become his vassal for the Canterbury lands. Anselm himself explained to Archbishop Hugh of Lyon what happened next:

³⁵ Eadmer, HN, 40–41.

³⁶ GP, 1:124–125.

³⁷ Eadmer, HN, 40–41. Note that Anselm’s homage to the king and enfeoffment with Canterbury’s lands is an entirely different matter than his previous investiture with the ring and staff of his office, which the bishops and barons had forced upon him. The investiture entailed the king handing over the episcopal office through the conferring of episcopal ring and staff. Homage involved Anselm’s pledge of fealty and loyalty to the king as his vassal, with all the reciprocal obligations between lord and vassal that homage involved. Enfeoffment means that the king seised Anselm with the lands belonging to Canterbury, conferring them on him to hold in tenure from the king. The validity of each of these ceremonial rites would come to be challenged by the Gregorian papacy during Anselm’s pontificate under Rufus, and again under Anselm’s pontificate under Henry I. These challenges have come to be known as the English Investiture Controversy, repeated again in Germany and known there simply as the Investiture Controversy. These controversies between kings and popes are the reasons why Eadmer stressed so much that Anselm received investiture shouting “It is a nullity,” and received enfeoffment and rendered homage “in the manner and on the precedent of his predecessors,” for later Pope Urban II had banned all three practices.

³⁸ GP, 1:126–127.

³⁹ Eadmer, HN, 47; cf. Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 169.

Before he might ask something from me, I promised—with the counsel of my friends—a not inconsiderable sum of money—God knows with what intent. He rejected it as too little, that I might give more; but I would not. Thanks be to God who, pitying the simplicity of my heart, caused it to happen thus, lest if I had promised nothing or little, there might have seemed a just cause for anger; or if he had accepted it, it might have turned into an accusation of nefarious purchase.⁴⁰

Understanding the situation with complete clarity, and with a shrewdness and theatricality equal to the king's own, Anselm anticipated the reactions of the king and his advisors. He offered £500, which the king first accepted, but then, on the advice of the royal counsellors that Anselm should give much more, Rufus refused the gift and asked for more—the sum suggested was £2,000. Eadmer quotes Anselm as urging the king to accept the £500 for his immediate needs: “although this is the first gift from your archbishop, it will not be the last.” But Rufus blew up in anger and sent Anselm away.⁴¹ Anselm's careful plan to avoid paying anything to Rufus that might seem a simoniacal payment seems to have worked. William of Malmesbury reports that “[t]hat raised Anselm's spirits a good deal, and for a moment his austere piety gave way to a happy laugh. For he reckoned that by this rebuff he had, thanks to God, preserved his good reputation.”⁴² When Rufus returned later saying he would accept the original sum after all, Anselm replied that it was too late—he had given the money to the poor, and the king departed empty-handed. Rufus, whom Orderic states was justifying his claim to conquer Normandy as answering “a cry of distress” from the Norman churches suffering under the weak rule of Robert Curthose, who was allowing his barons to despoil them,⁴³ could not risk an open break with Anselm.

Thus Anselm joined the other bishops at Hastings in February 1094 to bless Rufus's endeavour. When contrary winds delayed the king's crossing, Anselm took the opportunity to press Rufus on several matters. First, Anselm wanted to journey to Rome to obtain the pallium from Pope Urban II, just as Lanfranc had received his pallium from Pope Alexander II, and as Canterbury archbishops had done since 927.⁴⁴ The king replied that he had not yet recognized either one of the two papal contenders, and for Anselm to go to Urban for his pallium would be tantamount to robbing the king of his crown—his royal right to choose

⁴⁰ Anselm, Ep. 176.

⁴¹ Eadmer, HN, 44.

⁴² GP, 1:128–129. William's statement that follows makes clear that he was following Anselm's statement in the above letter to Hugh of Lyon.

⁴³ OV, 4:178–180.

⁴⁴ Anselm, Ep. 176; Barlow, *English Church*, 298.

England's candidate for pope.⁴⁵ Second, Anselm wanted king and archbishop to join together in holding a primatial council, as had the Conqueror and Lanfranc. As Eadmer quoted his words to Rufus, a restatement of the two-oxen principle: "I beg you, let the two of us make a united effort, you with your royal power—*potestas*—and I with my pontifical authority—*auctoritas*."⁴⁶ Rufus refused to consider it. Third, Anselm wanted Rufus to fill the remaining ecclesiastical vacancies in England, but Rufus was now roused to bitter anger against him, shouting that what the king did with his abbeys was none of Anselm's business. "You do what you like with your estates, and shall I not do as I like with my abbeys? ... Your predecessor would never have dared say such things to my father, and I shall do nothing for you."⁴⁷ But this last statement was untrue, for the Conqueror, with Lanfranc's counsel and guidance, did fill church vacancies, while Rufus did not.⁴⁸ The bishops advised Anselm to give Rufus the £500 and promise him more in order to regain his love, but Anselm had already given the money to the poor. Rufus responded with growing anger: "Yesterday I hated him with great hatred. Today I hate him with even greater hatred; and you may be sure that tomorrow and thereafter I shall hate him continually with even fiercer and more bitter hatred." And he sent Anselm from the court, refusing his archiepiscopal blessing.⁴⁹

Rufus returned from his unsuccessful Norman campaign to face a Welsh uprising, and then Anselm again in January 1095, when the archbishop once more sought permission to go to Urban for his pallium. Rufus again asserted that it was his right to choose England's pope, no matter whom Anselm had chosen in Normandy.⁵⁰ Anselm suggested a truce, until a great council of all the bishops, abbots, and magnates—"principes"—of the kingdom could decide the

⁴⁵ Eadmer, HN, 53. See a fuller, more reasoned exposition in GP, 1:136–137.

⁴⁶ Eadmer, HN, 48–49. Anselm, Ep. 176; again, recall I Corinthians 3:9, Paul's injunction to make a united effort as equals who both plant and water.

⁴⁷ Eadmer, HN, 49–50.

⁴⁸ William of Malmesbury, GR, 1:558–559, directly contradicts Rufus's statement that Anselm's predecessor Lanfranc never asked the Conqueror to fill ecclesiastical vacancies. Cf. Frank Barlow, *William Rufus* (University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 1983), 184–185; Howell, *Regalian Right in Medieval England*, 12.

⁴⁹ Eadmer, HN, 52. William of Malmesbury omits this whole story, including the Council of Rockingham that followed it, and indeed everything up to Anselm's departure into exile in 1097, commenting rather obliquely that Eadmer had "anticipated—*supersedendum*" the scene in which Rufus's men stripped Anselm's baggage of everything as if he were a common malefactor.

⁵⁰ Southern pointed out that Rufus would never have chosen Clement III over Urban, which would have threatened his ambition to rule both England and Normandy together, and both realms must necessarily have the same pope. VA, 85 n. 4. Southern, *St. Anselm and his Biographer*, 154.

matter. This council was held on February 24, 1095, at the castle of Rockingham, and lasted four days. But Eadmer says that there was trouble stirring among the barons: “A murmur of indignation now arose from the entire crowd at the wrong being done to so great a man as Anselm, but such protest was only whispered among them. Nobody dared speak openly in his defense out of fear of the tyrant—*tyrannus*.”⁵¹ Earlier that summer a group of conspirators had joined with Robert of Mowbray in rebellion against the king. These included Gilbert fitz Richard of Clare, Hugh of Montgomery earl of Shrewsbury, Ernulf of Hesdin, and William of Eu—all major donors to Bec and long-standing friends of Anselm.⁵² During this rebellion, there was even a death threat against the king. Orderic reports that the king was warned that enemies were lying in ambush hoping to cut his throat. The king, Orderic reports, outwitted the assassins.⁵³ Thus Anselm may have had more strength during the council than might appear at first sight—or from Eadmer’s account.

Eadmer devotes some thirteen pages to the Rockingham Council in the Rolls Series edition of *Historia Novorum*, which we will summarize drastically here.⁵⁴ Recall that the council was originally scheduled because of Anselm’s request to go to Pope Urban II for his pallium, but that Rufus had not yet recognized Urban as pope. It constituted, in fact, a real primatial council, just as Anselm had wished and requested from the king, with himself and the king presiding. Both king and primate took very clear positions. Anselm wanted to consult the council on how he could maintain his due allegiance to both King William II, to whom he had done homage; and Pope Urban II, whom as abbot of Bec Anselm had recognized as pope, and to whom he now owed obedience: “it would be a terrible thing ... to be told that it would be impossible for me to be true to

⁵¹ Eadmer, HN, 61.

⁵² For the Clare family, see Duke William’s confirmation charter to Bec, in *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie (911–1066)*, ed. Marie Fauroux, Mem. Soc. Ant. Norm. 36 (Caen, 1961), no. 98, 24 February 1041: Gilbert of Brionne; and the Pancarte of 1077, in *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I*, ed. David Bates (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1998), no. 166 (hereafter RRAN, Bates); for Gilbert’s sons Richard and Baldwin; and for William count of Eu. For King William’s confirmation charter of 1081, RRAN, Bates, 167: Baldwin fitz Gilbert, Arnulf of Hesdin, Richard fitz Gilbert, and Emmaline wife of Arnulf de Hesdin. See Fauroux, 223 for Hugh’s father Roger of Montgomery’s donations to St. Etienne Caen. For the conspiracy, see C. Warren Hollister, “Magnates and Curiales’ in Early Norman England,” *Viator* 8 (1977), 63–81: cf. 68–69; Barlow, *William Rufus*, 346–359.

⁵³ OV, 4:278–281.

⁵⁴ For a much fuller discussion, see Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 176–187. For Eadmer’s account, see HN, 53–67.

one of these allegiances without being false to the other.”⁵⁵ Rufus maintained that Anselm’s demand to journey to Urban was tantamount to robbing him of his crown and his sovereignty.⁵⁶ Rufus was in a terrible bind as well. If he recognized Urban and allowed Anselm to go to Rome for his pallium, he would have yielded his sovereign right to choose the pope for England—a humiliating public surrender to Anselm. William of Malmesbury succinctly summarized the king’s position: “The king reasoned like this: ‘The custom of my kingdom was laid down by my father; no one is to appeal to the pope without the king’s permission. He who transgresses the customs of the kingdom also violates the power and crown of the kingdom. He who takes my crown from me is being hateful and disloyal to me.’”⁵⁷

On the first day of the council, Anselm seized the initiative by calling the bishops, abbots and magnates to him, summarizing his and the king’s positions, and asking how he could serve both king and pope. The bishops advised him to adhere solely to the king, but this did not answer Anselm’s question of how he could serve both king and pope simultaneously. Rufus adjourned the council for the day. On the second day, Anselm repeated his question, and the magnates and prelates repeated their answer: serve the king alone. Anselm then lectured them on Petrine theory, quoting Christ’s injunction to render unto Caesar, Caesar’s things, and to God, God’s things.

Then Anselm released his bombshell: he would go to the pope himself for advice, turning around the bishop’s earlier proposal that he should deal with spiritual matters alone: he would obey the pope in matters that are God’s, while rendering to the king the loyal counsel and help he owed in matters pertaining to his earthly sovereignty. The crowd dissolved into a panic, a tumult of shouts and accusations. The king was enraged, and sought counsel from his barons and bishops, who had no immediate answers for Anselm, who now peacefully fell asleep while they tumultuously consulted. At length, they replied to Anselm that he was trying to rob the king of his crown and “the jewel of his sovereignty.”

At this, on the advice of his great men, Rufus transformed the council into a judicial trial of Anselm for disloyalty toward his lord the king. William of St. Calais, bishop of Durham, emerged as the chief advisor to the king, leader of the bishops, and the king’s spokesman. William had promised Rufus he would force Anselm either to renounce his allegiance to Urban, or to resign, and was reported to have had designs on the archbishopric himself. The bishop of

⁵⁵ Eadmer, HN, 55–56. Readers would have discerned here an echo of Christ’s command to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar’s, and to God the things that are God’s. Matthew 22:21.

⁵⁶ GP, 1:136–137.

⁵⁷ GP, 1:136–137.

Durham told Anselm to renounce Urban and swear undivided loyalty to Rufus, or face “the sentence that your presumption deserves.” Anselm replied that no man save the pope may judge an archbishop of Canterbury. Rufus was furious with this reply, and at the outwitted William of Durham for failing to judge and condemn Anselm.

After adjourning the council for another day, Bishop William admitted he could not answer Anselm’s argument, and advised that Anselm must be crushed by force: take back his archiepiscopal ring and staff and drive him from the kingdom. The barons objected, but both barons and bishops admitted that they had no answers to Anselm’s legal arguments. Rufus then urged the bishops to renounce their loyalty and obedience to Anselm, which they did; whereupon Rufus deprived Anselm of all royal protection in the kingdom, and stated he would no longer trust Anselm’s advice in any matter at all, nor would the king regard him as archbishop or spiritual advisor. This the bishops reported to Anselm, who in return offered his “faithful service and full protection” to the king. But the magnates would not renounce their loyalty to Anselm, and Rufus branded them as traitors. Clearly the royal position was in shreds. Already facing a baronial rebellion, the king could not afford to alienate the remaining loyal barons. Moreover he risked an international incident if he seized Anselm’s archbishopric.

Anselm at that point asked the king, in view of the withdrawal of royal protection, to just grant him safe-conduct to a seaport so that he might leave England. Fearing the resulting scandal of such a departure, but fervently wishing to be rid of Anselm, Rufus at that point shifted from the bishops’ counsel to that of the barons—a counsel led by the shrewd and cunning Robert of Meulan. The barons advised Rufus to drop all his threats and leave Anselm alone until the following morning, when the king would reply to his request for safe passage to a port. The next morning the barons, led by Robert, soothed Anselm with promises of bringing king and archbishop back into their former state of friendship by agreeing to a truce so that peace might be reestablished between them. Anselm agreed to a truce until mid-May. But despite the truce, Rufus deprived Anselm of his chief counsellors Baldwin of Tournai and two of his clerks by banishing them from England. Meanwhile, two royal chaplains, Gerard and William Warelwast, secretly rushed to Pope Urban, where they seem to have offered some sort of conditional recognition in return for Anselm’s pallium, which they would bring back to the king—not to the archbishop.⁵⁸

The pallium was carried back to England in secrecy by the papal legate Walter of Albano, and caught Anselm completely by surprise. Walter even passed

⁵⁸ Eadmer, VA, 87 and n. 2.

through Canterbury without a word to Anselm, and took the pallium straight to the king. Eadmer reports that Rufus hoped to depose Anselm and bestow the pallium himself on someone of the king's choice.⁵⁹ Still avoiding Anselm, Walter sought Rufus's personal recognition of Urban II, promising to sanction the royal customs toward the church, and especially that no papal legate would be sent to England during Rufus's lifetime without royal permission, nor could any English prelate receive or obey a papal letter without the king's sanction.⁶⁰ And so Rufus sent commands throughout the kingdom recognizing Urban as vicar of St. Peter, and agreed to the resumption of the payment of Peter's Pence, an annual tax of about £200 on the English bishoprics.⁶¹ But, Eadmer reports, as soon as Rufus made this announcement kingdom-wide, Walter refused to depose Anselm, as the king wished. Nevertheless, Rufus could hope that Anselm might still make some concessions to receive his long-desired pallium. The king sent a delegation of "almost all the bishops of England" to Anselm, who tried to bargain with him. But Rufus still faced a far-flung baronial rebellion, led by Robert of Mowbray, joined by many important major donors to Bec, as mentioned above, as threatening Rufus just before the Council of Rockingham began, so that Anselm was in a strong bargaining position.⁶² He refused to give money to buy the king's love; and he refused to pay for the pallium—which they now revealed for the first time to him that Rufus had in his hands. It was on this offer that Anselm at last perceived how tangled was the plot set against him.⁶³ When asked at least to give the king the amount he would otherwise have spent on the journey to the papal court, he refused to give that, or anything at all. Facing baronial rebellion, and desperate, Rufus agreed to give Anselm, free of charge, both the pallium and the king's love, if only he could confer the pallium personally on Anselm. Anselm of course refused, and agreed only to take the pallium from the Canterbury altar "as if from the hand of St Peter." He did so in a great council of all the bishops, abbots, and laity on May 27, 1095, when Walter of Albano removed the pallium from a silver casket and placed it on the high altar of Canterbury Cathedral.

Even then, Rufus tried to extract a huge payment from Anselm because the king had gone to the trouble and expense of obtaining the pallium from Rome, and had engaged in transactions that cost him "many a mark." Anselm "groaned

⁵⁹ Eadmer, HN, 68–69.

⁶⁰ Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon Hugonis Monachi Viridunensis et Divionensis Abbatis Flaviniacensis*, ed. G.H. Pertz, in *MGH Scriptores* 8 (Hanover, 1848), 475; Barlow, *Rufus*, 342.

⁶¹ Eadmer, HN, 69; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Michael Swanton (Routledge, New York, 1998), AD 1095; cf. Barlow, *English Church*, 295–297.

⁶² *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, AD 1095; cf. Barlow, *English Church*, 295–297.

⁶³ Eadmer, HN, 71.

at the springing of this trap.”⁶⁴ Let us note that Walter of Albano, as papal legate, might have offered to hand the pallium to Anselm himself. If so, Anselm had refused him, choosing the symbolism of the Canterbury altar instead, which would have signified his primatial inheritance, not his obligation to a pope who had in any case made a deal with the king behind his back. Anselm then promised to observe the royal customs and usages and to defend them against all men. In return, Rufus recognized Anselm as the kingdom’s spiritual father and permitted him to exercise full primatial authority throughout England, and welcomed him to the king’s Whitsun court. It was there that Anselm met Walter of Albano for the first time—on May 27.⁶⁵

The tangled plot and Rufus’s duplicity had caught Anselm off guard, but he handled it magnificently. He received the much-desired pallium on as canonically correct terms as he could, given Urban’s grant of the pallium to Walter and Rufus’s expectation that Walter would grant it to him to confer on whomever he chose. Anselm had conceded to the king only what he would have given had the king permitted him the recognition he desired: to observe the traditional royal customs. The king acknowledged him as the realm’s spiritual father, and also recognized Anselm’s full archiepiscopal authority in England. The king permitted Baldwin of Tournai to return to Anselm’s court. As Rufus observed, the royal cause had gained little or nothing of what the king desired: he was neither rid of Anselm, nor did he set up his own terms over the archbishop, negating Anselm’s two-oxen theory. Anselm, on the other hand, gained both his pallium and official recognition—full archiepiscopal authority. Urban had gained England’s recognition and the renewal of Peter’s Pence, and stood to gain a good deal more, depending on how Walter of Albano, the papal legate, fared in England. But Anselm also made sure that the papacy did not gain inordinate power over the English church.

Anselm still had to deal with the papal legate Walter of Albano. The archbishop was understandably wary, as we see in the two letters in Part II, 4a and 4b, Epistles 191 and 192 to Walter of Albano. In both, it is clear that Walter wanted to hold a great reforming council in England, bringing the English church under Urban’s authority. It is also clear that this was the last thing Anselm wanted, for he made excuse after excuse not to meet with the papal legate. Anselm’s excuses are both fitting and revealing, turning Walter’s and Urban’s duplicity in making a secret deal with the king against them both, while remaining both respectful and obedient. Anselm makes clear that he can do nothing without the king’s permission—and he notes that the king is engaged in defending the kingdom

⁶⁴ GP, 1:140–141.

⁶⁵ Eadmer, HN, 71–73; VA, 87 and n. 2. Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 188–189.

against both the baronial rebellion and a possible invasion from Normandy, in which the king had commissioned Anselm, as his faithful vassal, to guard the coastline of Kent, where such an invasion would surely land. Unspoken, but implied, is that Anselm's duty to the king, preventing him from meeting the legate, is the direct result of Anselm's receiving his pallium and renewing his fealty to Rufus—the consequences of Urban's deal and Walter's visit. The irony is a bit delicious.

These letters are the first clue that Anselm did not share the Gregorian fervency for papal monarchy, but held a different view of England's relationship to the papacy: he owed respect and a certain distant obedience, and the pope was the court of last resort with judicial authority over legal cases involving clergy, but, Anselm seems to imply, England was “another world,” and Anselm was the pope there, analogous to the pope of continental Europe in Rome—just as Lanfranc had been greeted by his student Pope Alexander II, and Anselm would be greeted by Urban II at Rome later during Anselm's first exile.⁶⁶ England's traditional rights involved not only the customary rights of the king, but also the customary rights of the archbishops of Canterbury.

However, to put the English situation in a continental context, Anselm was not unusual as a bishop, archbishop, and metropolitan in perceiving that he had rights and privileges upon which both secular and ecclesiastical lords might encroach. Whatever the Gregorian Reform movement might claim as the rights of St. Peter over all the archbishops and metropolitans of Europe, the Gregorians were often met with claims of local privilege and precedence. Pope Gregory VII rebuked Lanfranc for just such resistance,⁶⁷ and even Hugh archbishop of Lyons sometimes resisted papal demands.⁶⁸ Thus Anselm was not alone in resisting growing papal claims to centralized control of European bishoprics. Nowhere else, however, was there a claim to a concept of “another world” parallel to the Roman world, with its own patriarch parallel to the pope.

It is significant that the two letters to Anselm from Walter of Albano appear in Lambeth 59, part one or L, the manuscript most often cited as probably collected by Anselm himself. L omits more than half of the surviving letters from the reign of William Rufus to and from Anselm, in contrast to including nearly all of the surviving letters from the reign of Henry I. Of the sixty-four letters in Schmitt's collection dated to Rufus's reign, thirty-three are omitted

⁶⁶ Eadmer, HN, 11 for Lanfranc; Eadmer, VA, 105, where Eadmer reports that Pope Urban welcomed him with these words: “et quasi comparem velut alterius orbis apostolicum et patriarcham jure venerandum censeamus.”

⁶⁷ Lanfranc, Ep. 38, cf. Ep. 39.

⁶⁸ On Hugh, see Kriston R. Renne, *Law and Practice in the Age of Reform: The Legatine Work of Hugh of Die (1073–1106)* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2010).

from L, leaving only thirty-one preserved in L. Of the 263 letters dated to Henry's reign, only thirty-six are omitted from L, leaving 227 preserved in L.⁶⁹ The letters preserved in L, probably by Anselm, are significant: they include most of his letters to Pope Urban, the letters to Walter of Albano, and the letter to Pope Paschal. They omit the embarrassing letters surrounding Anselm's journey to England before his election, and the letters concerning the strife around his election and accusations of simony, and also letters in which he forced the monks of Bec to elect Anselm's choice for his own successor as abbot of Bec—a man whom they did not all support.⁷⁰ The letters retained in L seem to consist of neutral letters unconcerned with politics, to which are added only Anselm's "official" versions of his election, consecration, and the events concerning his eventual exile. We already saw such an official version in Anselm's letter to the bishops of Ireland, wherein he summarized the events of his election, consecration, and consideration of the "due order" he was duty-bound to bring to England. And this "due order" included Anselm's primatial independence from the papacy.

His letters in L to Pope Urban and Pope Paschal, recounting the events leading up to his exile in 1097, have the same character of an "official" version, included here in Part II, 4c and 4d, Epistles 206 to Pope Urban and 210 to Pope Paschal. Here, no mention is made of the tumultuous Council of Rockingham, and Rufus's (and indeed Urban's) surprise of the pallium sprung on Anselm. Instead, there is a formal list of complaints against the king: Anselm apologises for not coming to Rome to meet Urban in person. He recalls to Urban how unwillingly he was dragged into high office, perhaps recalling to Urban's mind the familiar *topos*. For four years Anselm has borne no fruit, seeing many evils he ought not to tolerate but could not correct. The king oppressed churches and granted their lands to his own knights, and overthrew God's laws and customs arbitrarily, according to his own will. If, Anselm said, he were to tolerate such evil customs, they would be confirmed not only to him but to his successors, and

⁶⁹ On the letters omitted from L, see Fröhlich, *Letters of Anselm*, 1:41–51, and note 134, where they are listed. Sixty-two are omitted altogether from the archiepiscopal letters, including those in La and thus omitted from L; and thirty-three of these are from the reign of William Rufus. Of a total of sixty-four letters from William Rufus's co-reign with Anselm of seven years (1093–1100), only thirty-one are in L (I am counting the letters in La as omitted). Of a total of 263 letters to or from Anselm in his co-reign of nine years with Henry I (1100–1109), thirty-six are omitted and 227 are in L. I will list these omitted letters from the Rufus years here, because Fröhlich does not include the letters of La in his list: 148, 150–152, 155, 159, 163–166, 168–169, 172–179, 181, 183–184, 190, 193, 195, 200, 202, 204–205, 207–209.

⁷⁰ See Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 120–142.

become law in their own right.⁷¹ It was Anselm's stated intent to go to consult Pope Urban himself over these matters that caused King William Rufus to expel Anselm from England, seizing all the lands of his archbishopric.⁷²

Anselm repeated this argument to Pope Paschal, immediately after Pope Urban's death in July 1099, adding that the king would not allow Anselm to receive letters from the pope nor to send letters to the pope without his consent—a fact he had omitted from his letter to Urban, because Urban had granted this right to Rufus, as we have seen. Further, Anselm added, Rufus would allow no council to be held in England. This was technically true, as the king had transformed the abortive Council of Rockingham into a judicial trial. But, initially at least, Rufus had indeed consented to this council. It may well have been Anselm's skill in legal arguments undercutting the king's will that persuaded him to hold no further councils. Moreover, Anselm continued, the king had cowed the bishops into supporting his will and ignoring the archbishop's will. All these arguments he based on the king's refusal to follow the will and the law of God, which fact had driven Anselm out of England.⁷³ These two letters amount to a virtual official version of events in England, omitting the messy politics and maneuvering we see in Eadmer's profuse accounts, and in William of Malmesbury's more measured version. Indeed, William of Malmesbury even gives a justification of the king's side, and reconstructs Rufus's rationale that indeed Anselm intended to rob him of the jewel of his sovereignty by claiming co-rule with him.⁷⁴

But Anselm's official version omits several events revealed by the omitted letters, and some told by Eadmer. First, he included Walter of Albanos's letters in Lambeth 59, but in his letters to both Urban and Paschal, he omitted his suppression of Walter of Albano's attempts to hold and preside over a reforming council in England as papal legate on behalf of the pope. Anselm's two-oxen theory had no place for papal control over any of England's affairs, and Anselm did not want a papal legate in England. Anselm worked fervently on behalf of Rufus and to protect the kingdom by striving to prevent Gunhilda, daughter of King Harold Godwinson, from leaving the convent of Wilton to marry first Count Alan the Red of Brittany, lord of Richmond and the most powerful

⁷¹ On Anselm's conception of laws see Sally N. Vaughn, "Anselm of Canterbury's View of God's Law in England: Definitions, Political Applications, and Philosophical Implications," in *Law and Power in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the Fourth Carlsberg Conference on Medieval Legal History*, 2007, ed. Per Andersen, Mia Münster-Swendsen, and Helle Vogt (DJØF Publishing, Copenhagen, 2008), 235–256.

⁷² Anselm, Ep. 206.

⁷³ Anselm, Ep. 210.

⁷⁴ GP, 1:136–137.

baron in the north of England, and then, after Alan the Red's death, his brother Count Alan the Black.⁷⁵ Gunhilda's marriage to either of these powerful barons could have resulted in a challenge to the throne. But it is possible that, later, Anselm helped to foil a key marriage for Rufus. Hermann of Tournai reports the words of Abbess Christina of Wilton, sister of Queen Margaret of Scotland, who reported a visit of Rufus to Wilton specifically to find Margaret's daughter Edith-Matilda, then a child of about twelve or thirteen. Christina says she hid and veiled Edith-Matilda to protect her from a possible rape or assault by Rufus, who went away when he saw the veil.⁷⁶ Anselm later wrote to Bishop Osmund of Salisbury instructing him to be sure Edith-Matilda returned to Wilton to resume the veil after she had left it.⁷⁷ But it is certain that Hermann's account is biased against Rufus, as were all the chronicles, because of his mistreatment of the churches. The account sounds suspiciously like Rufus's attempt to find a suitable wife to marry, and Edith-Matilda was the most eligible one to be found, as a descendant of the old Anglo-Saxon royal line, and daughter of the king of Scotland—indeed, later King Henry I would marry her. Schmitt dates the letter spring 1094, which would have made it concurrent with the events of the Council of Rockingham, and thus Anselm's letter helping to block the marriage may have been one of his tactics to gain concessions from the king after Rockingham. In omitting these letters from Lambeth 59, Anselm had no wish to deceive or manipulate future readers. Rather, he was constructing a truer, more ideal account for posterity upon which his successors could rely for an ideal image of the role of the archbishop of Canterbury—an image or model closer to the ideal image in God's mind than to the messy constructs of flawed reality, and a truer Truth.

But Anselm faithfully supplied a contingent of knights to Rufus for his invasion of Wales in 1097, and in 1095–1096 king and archbishop seem to have reached enough of an accord for Anselm to have hope for better things. As William of Malmesbury tells us, “All that year the peaceful atmosphere drove away Anselm's troubles, and relieved the anxieties of good men.”⁷⁸ But on the king's return from Wales, Anselm's hopes to preside over a reforming council were shattered when Rufus brought charges against him for the inadequate training and unsuitability of these knights. Eadmer bluntly states that the king had fabricated this charge “to prevent Anselm from having any opportunity of approaching the king to speak for God.” Again Anselm saw the king as

⁷⁵ Anselm, Epp. 168 and 169.

⁷⁶ Hermann of Tournai, *Hermani liber de Restauratione S. Martini Tornacensis*, ed. George Waitz, in *MGH Scriptores* 14 (Hanover, 1883), 280; quoted in Barlow, *Rufus*, 311–312.

⁷⁷ Anselm, Ep. 177.

⁷⁸ GP, 1:144–145.

functioning by whim instead of law,⁷⁹ and judged it “unseemly to sue as a litigant ... or submit the question of his truth” to the king’s court, where such a judgment would not be “based on any law or equity or reason.”⁸⁰ Moreover, Rufus had despoiled churches and abbeys of their possessions, and all religion there was being stamped out, especially in the secular orders where both older and younger men were “taking to the ways of the corrupt life ... through lack of correction.”⁸¹

So Anselm once more sought royal permission to visit Pope Urban for advice in these matters. Rufus retorted that “When it is a matter of giving advice, he is better able to help the pope than the pope to help him.”⁸² The king then dropped the charge of inadequate knights,⁸³ but Anselm continued to petition him to visit Urban—as Eadmer insists, a total of three times.⁸⁴ Finally, Rufus threatened to seize the whole of the archbishopric and never again receive Anselm as archbishop if Anselm should go to Rome. The argument at court now turned into a judicial trial, as had the Council of Rockingham, with the royal court apparently continuously in session for a number of days.⁸⁵ The bishops, as before, supported the king. The royal counselors reminded Anselm that he had sworn to uphold the royal customs and usages, which prohibited visits to Rome without the king’s approval. Rufus remarked, “He is breaking all the promises he made on his honor to observe all the customs of my kingdom, for it is not customary for any of my nobles to go to Rome unless I send them.”⁸⁶ Anselm replied that he had promised to uphold only rightful customs in accordance to God’s will—a mental reservation he had forgotten to mention at the time when he took the oath. Indeed, William of Malmesbury reports that he said with a smile, “Far be it from any Christian to hold and keep laws and customs which are known to be contrary to God and Right,”⁸⁷ while Eadmer quotes him as saying, “God forbid, God forbid, I say, that any Christian should hold or defend laws or customs known to be contrary to God and rightfulness.”⁸⁸ “I publicly

⁷⁹ Eadmer, HN, 98, VA, 88.

⁸⁰ Eadmer, HN, 78.

⁸¹ Eadmer, HN, 79.

⁸² Eadmer, HN, 80.

⁸³ Eadmer, HN, 79.

⁸⁴ Eadmer, VA, 91–92.

⁸⁵ Eadmer is rather vague on whether Anselm was actually tried and found guilty at the king’s court. But from his rambling description, this appears to be the case, after Rufus assembled his court in August by royal writ. See HN, 79–87. He describes Anselm presenting his case to each of the factions—king, bishops, abbots and magnates—at court, as at the council of Rockingham.

⁸⁶ GP, 1:144–145.

⁸⁷ GP, 1:146–147.

⁸⁸ Eadmer, HN, 84–85. Cf. GP, 1:144–147.

declare that a Christian prince acts unjustly if he demands such an oath from his own archbishop,” Malmesbury adds.⁸⁹ When Rufus said that if Anselm went to Rome without royal permission, he could not take anything with him of his Canterbury possessions, the archbishop replied that he would go to Rome on foot and naked. At that, Rufus had the grace to blush, according to William of Malmesbury, and not to deny him horses and clothing.⁹⁰

Anselm explained to the monks of Canterbury his reasons for pushing the king so hard to this stalemate: “The long drawn-out dispute between our lord king and myself about the reform of Christian discipline has at last come to this, that either I shall have to do things which are against God and my honor, or leave the kingdom without delay.”⁹¹ Once more, as before, his appeal to Rufus to allow him to visit Pope Urban was a theoretical symbolic issue, real only in the sense that the Roman pope had ultimate judicial authority over the primate of England. As Rufus had intuited, Anselm did not desire to consult the pope so much as to dramatize Urban’s judicial authority over England in spiritual matters. He showed this in two ways: by asserting to Rufus that he wished to “obey God rather than man,”⁹² and by making clear that Rufus recognized no higher law than the king’s own in England: “He is lord; his word is law.”

But this state of affairs was not what Anselm had hoped for for England when, as an old sheep, he had been yoked to a wild bull. “... I know to what end I have been chosen, and what I undertook in assuming authority in England,” Anselm recalled to Rufus’s court, reminding them of his own concept of due order for the kingdom. “I declare that it would not be honorable for me in the desire for temporal gain to omit anything which I hope, with the aid of God’s mercy, will be useful to his Church in time to come.”⁹³ Anselm had his eye on posterity, and the precedents he might set for his successors. As he stated himself, “I saw in England many evils whose correction belonged to me and which I could neither remedy nor, without personal guilt, allow to exist.”⁹⁴ As before, Anselm was vitally concerned that none of his words or deeds might provide a custom or precedent for future kings to override Canterbury’s privileges and views of due order as had the wild bull of a king William Rufus. Anselm’s petitions to the king to visit Rome were in reality an assertion of the Canterbury rights he perceived as due order for England: the archbishop and primate should rule yoked to the king as an equal, pulling the plow of the church

⁸⁹ GP, 1:144–145.

⁹⁰ GP, 1:146–147.

⁹¹ Eadmer, VA, 93.

⁹² Acts 5:29; Eadmer, VA, 92.

⁹³ Eadmer, VA, 92.

⁹⁴ Anselm, Ep. 210.

through the land of England, he by his teaching authority, and the king with his imperial power. There is no mention of the Roman pope in this metaphor. It was Rufus's insistence that the king should alone rule both church and state—much as if he were himself archbishop of Canterbury—that caused Anselm to force the issue at the royal court and choose exile over dishonorable service.

So Anselm departed for Rome, never to see King William Rufus again. Deprived of his see and all money and possessions except his pack animals and the clothes he wore on his back, Anselm was grudgingly welcomed at the papal court, but little was done to help him.⁹⁵ Indeed, Anselm stopped Pope Urban from excommunicating the king, because Anselm said that such excommunication would only be reviled and laughed at in England. Rufus, on the other hand, rejoiced that “I have gained my freedom, and freely I shall now do exactly as I like,” according to Eadmer.⁹⁶ It was only on the death of William Rufus, shot by an arrow in the New Forest on August 2, 1100—the day after St. Peter in Chains day—that Anselm set out to return to England, to be warmly welcomed by Rufus's brother and successor, King Henry I, with profuse promises of ecclesiastical reform to warm Anselm's heart.

But before he could return to England, Anselm was forced into a long period of leisure, interspersed with intense activities at the papal court seeking papal help to return to England. It was during these long three years—1097–1100—that Anselm could once more turn to the theological writing he so loved. Thus in 1097–1098, sequestered on a mountaintop in Italy,⁹⁷ awaiting a hearing at the papal court, Anselm wrote his great tract *Cur Deus Homo*. As Richard Sharpe concluded, Anselm wrote fast—each tract all at one time.⁹⁸ Later, after abandoning the papal court as unlikely to help him, Anselm sojourned at Lyons from 1099 to 1100, where he wrote at least three more theological tracts—one of which circulated with *Cur Deus Homo*; and at least began his major work against the Greeks, *De processione Spiritus Sanctus* and another two very short tracts which circulated as letters, one of which often accompanied *De processione Spiritus Sanctus*, which seem to belong to this period. As Richard Sharpe, who so carefully traced the timing of all these writings, remarked, “Anselm had used

⁹⁵ On Anselm's exile, see Sally Vaughn, “Anselm in Italy,” *Anglo-Norman Studies* 16 (1994), proceedings of the Battle Conference, 1993, in Palermo, Sicily; ed. Marjorie Chibnall; Bury-St.-Edmunds, 245–270.

⁹⁶ Eadmer, HN, 116.

⁹⁷ John abbot of Telese, a former monk of Bec, took Anselm to his village of Sclavia—now called Liberi—about ten miles north of Telese. VA, 106 and nn. 1 and 2.

⁹⁸ Sharpe, “Anselm as Author,” 58–59.

the period of his first exile for literary work.”⁹⁹ Let us now turn to that time of Interlude in Anselm’s episcopal career, 1097–1100, to examine both Anselm’s theological work and his experiences at the papal court, along with events in England that led to the death of King William Rufus. Anselm was in exile, destitute, deprived of his office and all its possessions; the king was free to do what he liked, in possession of Normandy and poised to regain Maine as he reconstituted the domains of his father—and extend them to France itself if he could; and the pope was in the midst of his desperate gamble to strengthen the reform papacy through his call of the First Crusade—which in 1097 was going badly.

⁹⁹ Sharpe, “Anselm as Author,” 40–56 for the analysis of the exact time each of these works was written. 56 for quotation. Sharpe added that, in comparison, during Anselm’s second exile, he only composed letters on ecclesiastical business—but was also disseminating copies of his work.

This page has been left blank intentionally

Chapter 5

Interlude:

Anselm in Exile and the Death of a King

Before we look at Anselm's exile, we must consider the main sources for its details: Eadmer's *Historia Novorum* and *Vita Anselmi*. Eadmer tells us explicitly that at some time he was hard at work writing what became *Vita Anselmi* with great care, first in a draft on wax tablets, then in a fair copy on parchment. Anselm read it, and at first approved it with corrections and reordering, then a few days later ordered Eadmer to destroy the parchment quires "because he considered himself far too unworthy for future ages to place the least value on a literary monument to his honor." Eadmer did so, but disobediently made a parchment copy first, which he did not destroy.¹ Southern dates this incident to 1100, which "would account for the very full treatment of the years down to 1100 and the almost complete absence of personal detail or vivid narration in the years which followed."² This "vivid narration" of events up to 1100 is also true of *Historia Novorum*. After Anselm's death in 1109, Eadmer wrote *Historia Novorum* first, dealing with Anselm's archbishopric and the Canterbury primacy, and only afterwards, at the request of friends, wrote *Vita Anselmi*, a biography of Anselm starting with his childhood.³ Eadmer makes clear that the text Anselm saw was a text that would become *Vita Anselmi*,⁴ but of course Eadmer had observed much more of Anselm's archiepiscopal career under King William Rufus—to which Anselm might have objected—that Eadmer would

¹ Eadmer, VA, 150–151.

² Southern, Introduction to VA, x.

³ Eadmer, VA, 1: "Since we have seen many strange changes in England in our days and developments which were quite unknown in former days, I committed to writing a brief record of some of these things, lest the knowledge of them should be entirely lost to future generations. This work was chiefly concerned to give an accurate description of those things which took place between the kings of England and Anselm archbishop of Canterbury ... it left out anything which seemed to belong merely to Anselm's private life, or to his character, or to the setting forth of his miracles. It therefore seemed good to some of my friends to induce me to undertake another work ... I have tried to carry out their wishes to the best of my ability. I have therefore entitled this work *The Life and Conversation of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*."

⁴ VA, 150: "Moreover, when I had first taken the work in hand ... Father Anselm himself one day called me to him privately and asked what it was I was drafting and copying"

later include in Books 1 and 2 of *Historia Novorum*, probably having taken notes on them as events unfolded.

That Anselm did not wish the details of these events to be commemorated for posterity is shown in his own letter collection for the Rufus period, in which he himself eliminated most of the details for a barebones summary in the two letters to Urban and Paschal, here in Part II, 4c and 4d. After Anselm's prohibition of Eadmer's text, Eadmer seems to have stopped taking notes, for while Books 1 and 2 on the reign of William Rufus are a vivid narrative full of descriptive details on Anselm's actions, eyewitness accounts cast in a literary mode, the second part of *Historia Novorum*, Books 3 and 4, on the reign of Henry I, has an entirely different character, based on documents and letters, quoted and connected by short narrative segments. Consequently, we know far less of the behind-the-scenes details and motivations of Anselm's career under Henry I, but far more in all, because many more letters are preserved in Anselm's collection of his letters under Henry I. This suggests that, when he wrote *Historia Novorum* before 1112–1114, Eadmer used Lambeth 59—or rather the letters collected for what became that manuscript—as a source for the documents in Books 3 and 4. But because this collection lacked many letters from the reign of William Rufus, he had to rely on his own notes for his narrative account of those years. If, as I have argued, and as he states in his prologue to *Vita Anselmi*, he wrote *Historia Novorum* before he wrote *Vita Anselmi*, which Southern dates to 1112–1114 in its earliest version,⁵ then he must have written *Historia Novorum* before that date—and thus right after Anselm's death.

Two events in the reign of William Rufus had a profound effect on the reign of his brother and successor. First, Pope Urban II, Eadmer makes clear, was never Anselm's whole-hearted supporter. Second was Rufus's death, which ended his reign, to which we will return below. Urban had made a deal with King William Rufus behind Anselm's back after the Council of Rockingham, and Anselm actually had to threaten to resign as archbishop twice—in a letter (Part II, 4c) and in person—in order to even elicit the pope's interest in his dire situation in exile. But Urban can perhaps be understood if we recall that just at that time he was in the midst of managing the First Crusade, a daring gamble at a time when the reform papacy was at its most precarious. Imperial and anti-papal forces occupied Rome itself, and Urban's counterforce was the military support of the entrepreneurial, opportunistic Normans in Italy and Sicily. In Germany and northern Italy, imperial sentiments largely prevailed. Urban's hold on England and his influence on William Rufus was perhaps the most unstable of all his

⁵ Southern, Introduction to VA, x.

alliances, well demonstrated by the refusal of nearly all the bishops and barons of England to support Anselm's claim to the right to visit Urban and consult with him in the autumn of 1097.⁶ Earlier, as a result of Urban's call to Crusade in 1095, Duke Robert Curthose had pawned Normandy to the consequently even more powerful English king William Rufus. Urban's predecessor Pope Gregory VII had barely survived his tenuous tenure as pope, repeatedly assaulted by his imperial rivals. In the end, he died in office—but in exile in Norman Italy. Urban, inheriting a weak and threatened reform papacy, had made the desperate move of calling the First Crusade to rally Europe behind him—and in 1097 it was not at all clear that this gamble would succeed. It is little wonder that Urban seemed to have little time for Anselm's cause, and often seemed to be forgetful of it, in face of the monumental challenges his papacy posed for him. It is against this backdrop that Anselm's exile must be seen.

But complicating the circumstances even more are Eadmer's constraints in portraying Anselm's actions in his contradictory accounts in *Vita Anselmi* and *Historia Novorum*. *Vita Anselmi*, as a panegyric to Anselm's sanctity, a saint for all Christendom, portrays Anselm as peacefully writing philosophy on a mountaintop, teaching and preaching in Lyons, and waiting for God to bring him back to England. Once he had presented his case to Urban, he retired to await God's purpose, and in due time his faith was rewarded with restoration to England.⁷

And it is true that in the years of his exile, Anselm wrote a good deal of theology. He had already begun his work on *Cur Deus Homo* in England, as Richard Sharpe has found. He finished it in Italy, 1097–1098,⁸ before he attended the Council of Bari. *Cur Deus Homo* centers around a discussion of *debere*, to owe, or ought, and *debitum*—duty, debt, what is due or owed, and thus what ought to be done—and honor. “Anselm tries to show that the incarnation was the necessary (but freely chosen) means for accomplishing man's salvation. For only a God-man would be able to make satisfaction for the dishonor done to God through man's sin, and satisfaction must be made before God can forgive man's sin.”⁹ This tract is a dialogue with Bec monk and Anselm's student Boso, also future abbot of Bec. Boso's first question is a question of an unbeliever: Why did God not just make another man like Adam, from the clay of the ground, as a sinless man who could make restitution to God for Adam's sin by his death? Anselm replied that then Adam and his race would be indebted to this new man, and thus a servant to someone in addition to God—improper to believe.

⁶ Vaughn, “Anselm in Italy,” 245.

⁷ Vaughn, “Anselm in Italy,” 248.

⁸ Sharpe, “Anselm as Author,” 46.

⁹ Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 190.

Adam's sin must be redeemed through one of the Adamic race, which must be restored through the aid of one of its own members. A new man would not owe such satisfaction—or owe the debt—not having sinned, for the sins of Adam's race. Only someone of Adam's race ought to—or owes it to—make satisfaction for Adam's sin. Such a question, Hopkins believes, is a possible stance taken by unbelievers.¹⁰ It seems to continue on the course Anselm began with *Monologion* and *Proslogion*, and the short tracts written thereafter, *On Truth*, *On Free Will*, and *On the Fall of the Devil*, speaking to the unconverted, suggesting a missionary attitude. The next logical topic in this progression would well be Christ's incarnation.

Secondly, Boso asks: Why could God not simply forgive man, through the merciful act of willing it so? “Anselm answers that for God to remit sin without payment is unfitting,” because it would give the sinner equal status with the non-sinner. Sin not punished is subject to no law, and the sinner becomes more like God than the non-sinner because God is subject to no law. Moreover, “as God's creature, every human being owes obedience to God's will.” Satan and Adam sinned by not paying their debts of obedience through acts contrary to the will of God, and non-payment of these debts tended to dishonor God. But no one can either add to or detract from God's perfection. Rather, they dishonor God by marring their own perfection as God's creatures, thus they dishonor God. “Having robbed God of honor, human nature incurred a debt in addition to the debt of disobedience.” Moreover, it must repay more than is owed, to repair the injury that accompanied the loss of the stolen honor.¹¹

Boso then asks: How can punishment of the sinner honor God? Anselm replies that “punishment proves to the sinner that,” whether he wishes it or not, “he is the creature of God and cannot escape God's will. God preserves his honor by the continued exercise of His Lordship over creation. In sinning man took away what was rightly God's. In punishing, God takes away what would have been man's”—the blessedness he would have had had he not disobeyed God. Repayment must be made to make man equal to the angels who had not sinned, and to restore man to the state of dignity for which he was created. Boso then asks whether adhering to the monastic virtues—good works and obedience to God—can repay the debt of sin. Anselm replies that “each man would have owed all those things to God even had he not sinned.” Neither by good works nor contrition nor works of penance can man repay his debt. Whoever dishonors God must offer “something greater than that with respect to which he was obligated not to dishonor God.” The satisfaction for sin must surpass

¹⁰ Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 190–191.

¹¹ Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 192–193.

everything that is other than God, which no mere man can possibly render. And although man is unable to repay God for his sins, nevertheless he is not blameless for them.¹²

When Boso then asks how Jesus's death can honor God, Anselm replies that God will provide some means of satisfaction for man's sin. This means comes through the life of a God-man: only God can make satisfaction for sin, and only man ought to make it, so it must be made by a God-man, who can offer to God a gift which he does not personally owe. And this will honor God enough to pay for all men's sins. Since Jesus is not obliged to die, but chooses it of his own free will, because he is fully just, his voluntary death is for the sake of justice, and is meritorious. It restores honor to God and the availability of salvation to mankind, because since Christ willed to undergo the greatest of all injustices—the assault on his person, which was an assault on the person of God—the merit of his death is the greatest possible, and therefore outweighs all the sins of mankind.¹³ Anselm, using repeatedly the Latin verb *debere*, containing the notion of owing, as well as ought—that is, what is due, and therefore duty—can be summed up as arguing “Only man ought to; only God can; therefore, necessarily a God-man.”¹⁴

We have already seen that Anselm had been thinking hard about his duty to God and to the church of England before he became archbishop, and about what the “due order” of the church of England ought to be—as he reported to the bishops of Ireland in his letter to them. He expressed his concept of “due order” in his two-oxen theory, even before he was completely invested in the archbishopric. Thus he had thoroughly considered the duty an archbishop of Canterbury must fulfill before coming to England in 1092. Moreover, he must have been thinking hard about whether duty required him to go to England in 1092 when he suspected that he would be grabbed and forced into the archbishopric. He made the choice to go, as we have seen above—and indeed his suspicions were correct. But, by making this choice, he must have seen himself as fulfilling the duty ordained to him in the multiple instances of foreknowledge of his succession to Archbishop Lanfranc. Eadmer quotes Anselm as saying, just after uttering his first expression of the two-oxen theory, “... I know to what end I have been chosen, and what I undertook in assuming authority in England I declare that it would not be honorable for me in the desire for temporal gain

¹² Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 193–194.

¹³ Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 194–195.

¹⁴ Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 195–196. Hopkins, though, charges Anselm with equivocating the meaning of the word ought: 196–197.

to omit anything which I hope, with the aid of God's mercy, will be useful to his Church in time to come."¹⁵

Moreover, as he progressed in his struggles with William Rufus, he often thought hard about what he "ought" to do in the circumstances in which Rufus put him, concluding, as he told both Pope Urban and Pope Paschal, in his letters to them, that the king was trying to force upon him customs to which he ought not to agree because if he did so they would establish bad and harmful customs for his successors. "I saw in England many evils whose correction belonged to me and which I could neither remedy nor, without personal guilt, allow to exist." Such evil customs, he argued, would establish laws that his successors would be obligated to follow.¹⁶ Nevertheless, while he strove to discover and do his duty to God, he also recognized that he had duties to the king to fulfill. Indeed his whole pontificate under William Rufus continually forced him to calculate how he could both do his duty to God and to the king, as he clearly stated at the Council of Rockingham. As we have seen, just after Anselm's receipt of his pallium from the Canterbury altar, he cited to Walter of Albano, the papal legate, his duty to the king to defend the coast of England from an anticipated invasion as a reason why he could not meet with Walter. It was in these times that he first started writing *Cur Deus Homo*, as we have seen, finishing it when he at last had leisure time to write in Italy, as Eadmer described in *Vita Anselmi*—as a holy man contemplating and writing on a mountaintop.

Historia Novorum, on the other hand, must portray Anselm's role as confined to England, and when correlated with *Vita Anselmi*, a more complicated story emerges. Anselm had tolerated Rufus's abuses of the church for a long time—nearly five years. I have argued elsewhere that Anselm had been trying to teach the king—with the *magisterium* his archiepiscopal powers entailed¹⁷—striving to draw the king on to a more mature and upright way of life much in the way he had taught his young Bec students.¹⁸ Rufus, on the other hand, saw Anselm as "robbing the king of the jewel of his sovereignty" with his political philosophy of the two-oxen theory. Nevertheless, as I have shown elsewhere, from the first calling of the Crusade at Clermont, king and archbishop had ruled cooperatively for two years, with Rufus filling abbatial and episcopal vacancies promptly—some with Bec men: St. Albans with Richard d'Aubigny, a monk of the Bec dependency of Lessay; Battle with the Bec monk Henry; Worcester with the

¹⁵ Eadmer, VA, 92.

¹⁶ Anselm, Ep. 210.

¹⁷ Recall that Anselm's two-oxen theory explains that the king rules through his *imperium*, and the archbishop rules by his *magisterium*. Eadmer, HN, 37.

¹⁸ Vaughn, "Anselm in Italy," 249; see Eadmer, VA, 16–17 for Anselm's teaching of his young students.

brother of a Bec student; and Hereford with a royal chaplain.¹⁹ Indeed, Frank Barlow suspects Anselm might even have served as royal justiciar from Whitsun 1095 to Whitsun 1097.²⁰ It may have been at this time of relative political peace that Anselm began to write *Cur Deus Homo*, as he had been thinking about the issues of duty and honor since well before his election to the archbishopric, as we have seen.

And Anselm cooperated with Rufus to help him acquire his heart's desire: Normandy, which his brother Robert Curthose pawned to him for 10,000 marks to take the cross. Anselm concluded that both "reason and honor" required him to contribute to the large tax Rufus levied on the English landholders, and he gave all he could from his personal resources; he even sold precious objects from the Christ Church treasury to add 200 marks to Rufus's coffers.²¹ Thus Anselm cooperated with Rufus in the rule of England from 1095 to 1097, with each acting like a co-ruler. But all this changed once Rufus had Normandy. The king once more summoned Anselm to court, with the result that Anselm left England for exile, as we have seen.

Suspecting that Urban would not act on his behalf, Anselm lingered in Lyons with his good friend Archbishop Hugh, where, according to Eadmer, he heard rumors that "to proceed further" to Urban's court "would advance his cause very little."²² Both Eadmer and Anselm himself stress heavily the metaphor of Anselm oppressively enchained and unable to bear fruit. When Anselm at last came to Urban's presence in Rome, the pope welcomed him as "almost our equal, the apostolic patriarch of that other world—*quasi comparem velut alterius orbis apostolicum et patriarcham*," adding that he himself needed Anselm's counsel more than Anselm needed his.²³ Urban was astonished at Anselm's story, as if he had never read Anselm's letter, and promised to help him—but did nothing. Anselm then met the pope again at the siege of Capua by Roger of Sicily, where Eadmer compared Anselm's "pure humility and simplicity" to Urban's "supreme power and authority of high position," whose majesty gave access only to the rich.²⁴ After the battle, Anselm and Urban went to Aversa, where Urban once more refused to allow Anselm to resign, and then again at the Council of Bari, where Urban ordered him to remain in office, and pledged—for the second

¹⁹ Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 194; "Anselm in Italy," 250.

²⁰ Barlow, *William Rufus*, 360.

²¹ Vaughn, "Anselm in Italy," 250. Eadmer, HN, 74–75 for quote.

²² Anselm, Ep. 206; cf. Eadmer, HN, 91, and, on the extreme improbability of any prelate being allowed to resign office, Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 205–207, and for Anselm's entire exile, 203–211.

²³ Eadmer, VA, 105–106.

²⁴ Eadmer, VA, 110–112.

time, according to Eadmer—to back Anselm wholeheartedly (although the time of the first pledge is unclear). Urban threatened to excommunicate Rufus, but Anselm seems to have judged correctly that this would be uncanonical as only one warning had actually been issued to Rufus, and stopped him. He later said in a letter that excommunication at that time would be laughed at in England.²⁵ In Eadmer’s dramatic account, it is unclear when the second warning was issued.

But three warnings had been issued by December 1098, when the king’s envoy arrived in Rome and bribed Urban to postpone the threatened excommunication from the following Easter to the following Michaelmas—late September, 1099. Eadmer states at this point that “we realized that it was useless to wait in Rome for counsel or aid.”²⁶ Anselm, disappointed and despairing, wanted to leave immediately, but Urban ordered him to stay until after the Easter synod. There, Anselm’s cause was ignored at the synod, until Reingar, the bishop of Lucca, spoke up fervently on his behalf.²⁷ Urban made another promise to help Anselm, and then went on with other matters. Anselm must have cringed when Urban excommunicated “all lay persons who conferred investitures of churches,” and all persons who accepted such investitures. “So too he bound with the same chain of the same curse those who for holding ecclesiastical offices allowed themselves to be made the men of laymen.”²⁸

Under this decree, not only Rufus, but also Anselm himself would be subject to such excommunication, for he had been invested with his office by Rufus—although unwillingly—and had rendered homage to the king, becoming his vassal in exchange for his enfeoffment with the Canterbury lands. Urban’s new decrees would figure heavily in the reign of Henry I. As a sop to Anselm’s despair, Urban granted him a *de facto* legatine authority in England such as Alexander II had conferred on Lanfranc,²⁹ but no more than that. Urban had promised help and reneged on his promises for the third time. Anselm left Rome for Lyon, where Archbishop Hugh treated him as an honored guest, and he took Hugh’s place in performing all episcopal functions—not the act of a man determined to flee episcopal responsibilities,³⁰ but of a man still hoping to resume them. With the leisure enforced upon him by his exile, Anselm turned to writing theology once more. It was at this point that Anselm wrote three tracts:

²⁵ Anselm, Ep. 210, below Part II, 4d.

²⁶ Eadmer, HN, 111.

²⁷ Reingar was the successor to Anselm II of Lucca, who had probably studied at Bec. Reingar wrote a biography of Anselm II, and appears to have been his fervent disciple.

²⁸ Eadmer, HN, 114.

²⁹ Anselm, Ep. 214; Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 207–210, with the elaboration there.

³⁰ Eadmer, HN, 114; VA, 116–117; Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 210–211.

De conceptu virginali, *De peccato originali*, and *Meditatio redemptionis humane*, and began another, *De processione Spiritus Sanctus*.³¹ He may also have written two short tracts in the form of epistolae at around this time, for at least one of them circulated with *De processione Spiritus Sanctus: Epistola de sacrificio azimo et fermentati* (Ep. 415), and *Epistola de sacramentis ecclesiae* (Ep. 417).³²

De conceptu virginali argues that “the Son of God *could only* have assumed a human nature through a virgin birth.” This was the only way He could remain free from the original sin of the Adamic race. It thus goes beyond Anselm’s argument in *Cur Deus Homo* that the virgin birth was “most fitting” to God. Original sin means inheritance of a nature deprived of Justice, the lack of which resulted in carnal desire. Adam’s sin—or debt, or penalty—is not transmitted to a man born of a virgin, for Adam’s sin, debt, and penalty cannot be passed down through a seed produced solely by the will of God, and not by any created nature or creature. Thus Jesus was begotten sinlessly, and his death can be thought of as honoring God as a payment not already owed.³³ Thus Anselm continued to mull over the concepts of duty and honor, what is owed and what ought to be, as he took the next step in his progressive tracts defining and validating through reason Christian beliefs, apparently explaining them for unbelievers.

He then progressed to examine original sin in *De peccato originale*—a continuation of the discussion he began in *De conceptu virginali*. The human seed is not sinful, and thus infants are not born sinful because they do not as yet have a rational will, and thus cannot sin. Nevertheless, they inherit the necessity of sinning at the time they gain a rational will (a time that Anselm does not identify). It is at this time that the infant gains a human nature, corrupted by sin, thus rendering the infant sinful. This sinful human nature is the result of Adam passing on both Justice and Injustice to his descendents. Original sin is necessary to Anselm’s argument that the Divine Incarnation is the only possible means for God to act both justly and mercifully in redeeming mankind through Christ’s death.³⁴

Meditatio redemptionis humane objects to the Augustinian theory that the death of Christ served to ransom mankind from the captivity of Satan, continuing his discussion in *De casu diaboli*. The theory of ransom implies that “one of God’s purposes in incarnation was to conceal His divine power, and thereby to deceive Satan into unjustly acting against this power in the person of Jesus. But since God is not a deceiver, any theory which implies that He is must

³¹ Sharpe, “Anselm as Author,” 32, 49–50.

³² Sharpe, “Anselm as Author,” 52–53.

³³ Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 202–205.

³⁴ Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 207–211.

be rejected.”³⁵ It also continues his argument made in *Cur Deus Homo*: in Jesus “human nature freely gave to God something its own which was not owed, so that it might redeem itself in others in whom it did not have what it owed and what it was required to pay.”³⁶

De processione Spiritus Sanctus is concerned with the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son. It was written against the Greek belief that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father, thereby explaining why the Latins added its statement to the Creed, *filioque*. It is a written reconstitution of his defense of the *filioque* addition at the Council of Bari in 1098, and in it he continues “to refine the distinction between the indivisible unity and the incompatible diversity in the Trinity.”

God the father is “God from whom God exists” because the Son is begotten from Him and because the Holy Spirit proceeds from Him, He is not “God from God,” since He neither proceeds nor is begotten. God the Son is “God from God” since he is begotten; and He is “God from Whom God exists” since the Holy Spirit proceeds also from Him. God the Holy Spirit is “God from God” since He proceeds from the Father and the Son; but He is not “God from whom God exists,” since neither the Son nor the Father proceeds from Him or is begotten from Him.³⁷

Sharpe finds that it was begun in 1098 and finished in 1101.³⁸ *Epistola de sacrificio azimo et fermentati* (Ep. 415) and *Epistola de sacramentis ecclesiae* (Ep. 417) were also written at about this time, and at least the first was circulated along with *De processione Spiritus Sancti*.³⁹ We will consider these *epistolae* later, at the time they were written, during the reign of Henry I.

Meanwhile, the wild and untamed bull raged on, rejoicing that he had regained his freedom with Anselm’s departure. Rufus had already taken over Normandy, by receiving it in pawn from his brother Robert Curthose in 1096. Rufus now set out to claim his hereditary rights to Maine and the French Vexin, crossing to Normandy in 1097 after expelling Anselm. His campaigns that winter, backed by the Norman magnates including Anselm’s former supporters Hugh of Chester, Walter Giffard earl of Buckingham, and William of Evreux; and several lords of the Vexin possibly linked to Robert of Meulan, were so

³⁵ Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 190.

³⁶ Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 196.

³⁷ Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 108–109, n. 30 for reference to *De processione*.

³⁸ Sharpe, “Anselm as Author,” 51.

³⁹ Sharpe, “Anselm as Author,” 53–54.

successful that “rumors flew in Paris that he intended to dispossess the king of France himself.”⁴⁰ Meanwhile, at about this time, Rufus wrote many letters to Roger duke of Apulia, trying “by writing letters and by giving large presents” to Roger “to stir up against [Anselm] all whom he thought could give [Anselm] trouble.”⁴¹ This aggressive strike against his exiled archbishop emphasizes the king’s impunity from Anselm’s or papal influence by spring 1098. Moreover, if Rufus could gain Roger, who ruled Sicily and southern Italy, as an ally in support of the Imperial candidate for pope, the papacy itself would be surrounded by enemies. Although there is no record of a response by Anselm, Eadmer responded by reporting a whole collection of stories in *Historia Novorum* emphasizing Rufus’s sins such as supporting and helping Jews to remain unconverted, and stating his scepticism of God’s judgment, knowledge, and power; and his refusal to call on St. Peter or any other saint for help—nor would anyone of any sense, he said. Moreover, Rufus required some fifty Englishmen, falsely accused of killing and eating the king’s deer, to undergo the ordeal of the hot iron. When they emerged unscathed after three days, thus by God’s judgment proving their innocence, Rufus scoffed that God was not a just judge, and in the future all men shall be made to answer to the king’s judgment, not to God’s.⁴² In *Historia Novorum*, Eadmer piles up the repeated blasphemies of the king, one after another, building to a crescendo of opposition to God on every front. Rufus loved the Jews and prevented them from converting to Christianity. He denied God’s law, and even the power of God. In the end, he even denied God himself. Eadmer characterizes this evolution as the king’s descent into madness.

William of Malmesbury, on the other hand, does not follow the same course, even though we know from previous quotations that he had read *Historia Novorum*. After Anselm left England for exile, William of Malmesbury says he will recount the rest of King William II’s reign by citing sources. The sources he chooses to cite are entries in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle—not informing us what Rufus did or said, but prophesy after prophesy of unnatural events portending doom. Neither William of Malmesbury nor Eadmer state clearly that William Rufus was in those years, 1097–1100, engaged in a vigorous and largely successful campaign to recreate and surpass the united and expanded Anglo-Norman realm presided over by his illustrious father. But William does note that “God’s higher grace attended all” the king’s efforts, and Rufus

⁴⁰ Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 211; OV, 5:316; Suger, *Vie de Louis VI, le Gros*, ed. Henri Waquet (Belles Lettres, Paris, 1964), 11.

⁴¹ Eadmer, HN, 97–98, cf. GP, 1:152–153, says Roger offered Anselm estates, castles, and anything he pleased to stay in his realm in Italy.

⁴² Eadmer, HN, 99–102.

had so completely benefited from the play of Fortune that God might have been thought to be vying with chance to do him service; if he went to battle, he brought back rich booty; if he planned to sail on an unquiet sea, the winds would at once cease to rage. Anselm was delighted to see it, for he hoped that because of this abundance of blessings the king would in the end set the church free.⁴³

His hopes were shattered by the court of 1097.

Rufus had begun by accepting Normandy itself in pawn from his brother Duke Robert Curthose, who departed Normandy for the First Crusade in 1096. Rufus had for some time been launching campaigns against his brother, hoping to wrest the duchy from him. Now he had Normandy's control, and was using it as a base to launch attacks southeastward against the French Vexin and the domains of the king of France. He was so successful that Orderic Vitalis described him as a worthy and able opponent of Julius Caesar and his Roman legions.⁴⁴ But we must piece together Rufus's many successful military campaigns from sources other than Eadmer or William of Malmesbury, who omitted them almost completely.⁴⁵

By 1098, Rufus had temporarily abandoned his siege of the Vexin to turn to a region his father had ruled, Maine, where he seized virtual control of the county from Count Elias and his ally Fulk count of Anjou.⁴⁶ Here Rufus encountered some problems with both the canons of Le Mans Cathedral and its bishop Hildebert of Lavardin. The original schoolmaster of the cathedral school of Le Mans had migrated there from Avranches in Normandy, and the successive bishops Arnold, his nephew (1065/7–1083), and Hoël (1083–1093) came from the cathedral chapter, and favored the Normans. Hildebert, archdeacon of Le Mans Cathedral, was elected bishop in 1096, the most famous Latin poet of his time. He was closely connected to Bec student Ivo bishop of Chartres, and so there may possibly have been a Bec connection between the school of Avranches where the chapter school originated, and the canons of Le Mans.⁴⁷ In this campaign, Rufus regained what his father had held in Maine, and sealed it with a triumphal entry into the city, with celebrations and processions led by the bishops. Afterwards, he issued laws and regulations for the city.⁴⁸ Orderic

⁴³ GP, 1:142–143.

⁴⁴ OV, 5:214–15.

⁴⁵ Frank Barlow has meticulously reconstructed Rufus's spectacular military campaigns of these years: Barlow, *Rufus*, 377–418. For the siege of the Vexin, OV, 5:212–219.

⁴⁶ Barlow, *Rufus*, 386–387; OV, 5:248. Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 212.

⁴⁷ Barlow, *Rufus*, 381–384.

⁴⁸ Barlow, *Rufus*, 384–387 for the military campaign, 387–388 for his triumphal entry. OV, 5:230–248.

describes him in the midst of this campaign as gracious in the treatment of knights, courteous, jovial and at ease, proclaiming proudly that his enemies had been captured and handed over to him “by the will of God, who knows the justice of my cause.”⁴⁹

Meanwhile, Anselm’s old friend Hugh earl of Chester and Hugh of Montgomery earl of Shrewsbury were successfully campaigning on the king’s behalf in Wales, and Rufus gained a new ally—William count of Poitiers. On September 27, 1098, Rufus, in his second campaign in the Vexin, crossed the Seine and ravaged as far as Pontoise, where Walter Tirel was castellan.⁵⁰ His French ally Matthew of Beaumont-sur-Oise was killed in the battles, but Rufus failed to take a single castle. Walter Tirel was lord of Poix, a castle on the road from Aumale to Amiens, where Bec monk Fulk was bishop; Walter was one of the most fervent supporters of Bec, as John of Salisbury substantiates.⁵¹ Walter was a great donor married first to Adelaide, daughter of Richard fitz Gilbert of Clare, and secondly to Rohese daughter of Walter Giffard, earl of Buckingham. The Clares, descended from Gilbert count of Brionne, were among the first and foremost donors to Bec, and continued to be its strongest supporters.⁵² The death of Matthew of Beaumont-sur-Oise must have been a major blow to that family, which was also closely allied to Bec. Count Ivo III, also known as Ivo the Clerk, 1052–1090, was so well educated that he had been the tutor at the royal French court to the princes Philip and Hugh, who later became King Philip of France and Hugh count of Vermandois, Valois and Crepy. It is quite possible that Ivo had been a lay student of Bec who had left the abbey to take up his comital inheritance. He had been married to Adelaide of Gournay, daughter of Hugh of Gournay, who had retired to Bec as a monk early in Anselm’s career.

⁴⁹ OV, 5:240–241.

⁵⁰ Barlow, *Rufus*, 389–393.

⁵¹ John of Salisbury, *Vita Anselmi*, singles out Walter of all the patrons of Bec for recognition as a special friend of Anselm, 24.

⁵² See the Bec foundation and confirmation charters in Fauroux, no.98 and Bates nos. 166, 167; 1077 Foundation charter lists Count Simon of Amiens, Valois, Vexin, and Richard fitz Gilbert and Baldwin fitz Gilbert of Clare. Confirmation charter of 1081 lists Baldwin fitz Gilbert and Richard fitz Gilbert of Clare. Donors of priories to Bec include Ivo III the Clerk count of Beaumont-sur-Oise, who was married to Adela of Gournay, a family who donated heavily to Bec. Bec also held St. Pierre de Pontoise, and held a lot in Pontoise, confirmed in a charter of 1086–1090 of King Philip I of France (J. Depoin, *Les Comtes de Beaumont-sur-Oise et le Prieuré de Ste. Honorine de Conflans* [Bureaux de la Société Historique, Pontoise, 1915], no. 14, pp. 62–63). The monks of Bec had occupied Pontoise since 1094 (Depoin, no. 15, pp. 63–64. p. 38 and n. 1). In England, Walter Giffard gave Blackenham, 1095, and the Clares donated a great deal. Hugh Tirel donated to Bec in the 1130 (Marjorie Chibnall, *Select Documents of the English Lands of the Abbey of Bec* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1951), no. XLIV).

The family was one of the most generous to Bec, and closely connected to it. Ivo and Adelaide granted the substantial abbey of Conflans to Bec, and Anselm had visited it often.⁵³ Conflans was one of Bec's largest, earliest, and most important dependencies. Thus Rufus's war against the king of France quite incidentally involved some of Anselm's closest friends and supporters.

But Rufus's campaign against the French Vexin suddenly stalled in winter 1098/9, and by the spring of 1099 Rufus and his entourage returned to England, perhaps on Bec student Ivo bishop of Chartres' releasing the Vexin lord Nivard of Septeuil from his oaths to Rufus made while he was the king's captive.⁵⁴ Orderic seems to be saying that things began to go badly for Rufus, for Le Mans fell into Count Elias's hands, and Rufus, hearing the news in England, rashly jumped on the first ship he could find and returned to recapture Maine. He was greeted in Normandy with great adulation and rejoicing, but in Maine he met solid resistance to his efforts by ruthlessly ravaging the countryside.⁵⁵ Ivo may well have acted with Anselm's exile in mind. Shortly thereafter, Rufus sent an envoy to Anselm in Lyons. Anselm says in a subsequent letter that the king did not offer "anything which could be accepted."⁵⁶ This letter to Pope Paschal was written after July 27, 1099, when Urban had died—sadly before he had heard of the news of the fall of Jerusalem to the Crusaders, and probably after Urban's successor Paschal II was consecrated on August 14. Paschal could not have been happy with Anselm's concluding words of the letter, saying that he had not excommunicated King William first because it was not his place to do so; and second because such excommunication--implied either by Anselm or by the pope—would be laughed at in England.

The following year King William Rufus, who had bragged that he would spend Christmas that year in Paris, was shot with an arrow in the New Forest on August 2—the day after St. Peter in Chains day. Rufus's death marks the second event crucial to his successor's co-rule with Anselm. It has been argued variously that the death of William Rufus was an accident, one of many in which royal scions fell in the New Forest or other forests.⁵⁷ C. Warren Hollister made this argument to counter suspicions that King Henry I murdered his brother, as Henry acted swiftly on his brother's death, jumping on his horse to seize the treasury in Winchester, arranging to be crowned in London, and thus succeeded Rufus

⁵³ On this family, see Depoin, *Les Comtes de Beaumont-sur-Oise et le Prieuré de Ste. Honorine de Conflans*, where Anselm's visits to Conflans are repeatedly documented in the charters printed there.

⁵⁴ Barlow, *Rufus*, 394.

⁵⁵ OV, 5: 255–261.

⁵⁶ Anselm, Ep. 210, below Part II, 4d.

⁵⁷ Hollister, "The Strange Death of William Rufus."

as king. More recently, Emma Mason has argued that the French assassinated Rufus because of his designs on the French throne and his campaigns in the Vexin aimed toward Paris.⁵⁸ Frank Barlow does not offer an opinion, but merely recounts all the evidence very clearly and thoroughly.⁵⁹ I have argued elsewhere that, while Henry I gained a great deal from the death of his brother—indeed the royal crown of England—that no one had more to gain from Rufus's death than Anselm and the English church, and that most of the prophesies and portents involved Anselm and his friends and supporters.⁶⁰ But on reflection the new Pope Paschal and the papal court and supporters had equally as much to gain as Anselm from the death of William Rufus. Let us examine carefully the exact circumstances surrounding the king's death beginning with Eadmer.

Eadmer makes clear that Anselm's circumstances were very desperate, and close to hopeless. Thrown out of England, deprived of his property and power in England, thus penniless, and brushed off by Pope Urban, Anselm's prospects of filling his envisioned role as co-ruler of England were pretty dim. He was ensconced in a place of honor in Lyon, a bishop in name only filling the episcopal role of his close friend and supporter Archbishop Hugh, enjoying his time for theological writing, but his prospects of returning to England were virtually zero, with Rufus in firm control of the Vexin and Maine and marching toward Paris, about to receive as well Poitou in pawn as William of Aquitaine sought to finance his own crusade by pawning this portion of his realm to Rufus. William of Malmesbury says that Rufus was planning on spending Christmas 1100 in Poitiers, and Orderic says he planned to obtain all Aquitaine up to the Garonne.⁶¹ And, from Anselm's perspective, things were getting worse almost by the minute. Rufus, now aged 38, the same age as the Conqueror was when he triumphed at the Battle of Hastings, was, according to Barlow, "poised for great conquests." Barlow points out that Geoffrey of Monmouth modeled King Arthur on him, and Geoffrey Gaimar proclaimed that never was a king more honored and loved by his people than Rufus. Barons feared him as a lion throughout France. He was a second Arthur poised to go to Rome.⁶² In the spring of 1099, at the great crown-wearing ceremony in Westminster Abbey on May 29, Rufus's Whitsun court, Edgar King of Scots demonstrated publicly his vassalage to Rufus. Barlow speculates that Edgar may have brought his sister Edith-Matilda with him with the prospect of marriage in mind. Rufus was now

⁵⁸ Emma Mason, *William Rufus, The Red King* (Tempus, Stroud, 2005).

⁵⁹ Barlow, *Rufus*, 408–437.

⁶⁰ Vaughn, "Anselm in Italy."

⁶¹ GR, 1:576–577; OV, 5:280, 285.

⁶² Barlow, *Rufus*, 396–397.

lord of Scotland and conqueror of Maine,⁶³ as well as king of England, master of Wales, and anticipating control of at least Poitou, if not all of Aquitaine. And there is little doubt that he would have resisted mightily returning the rule of Normandy back to his brother Robert Curthose—as Orderic tells us.⁶⁴ Surely his potential empire was as grand as King Arthur’s, and grander than his father’s. Geoffrey Gaimar’s account of the feast William held afterwards in his new hall of Westminster suggests the grandeur Rufus inspired. Barlow remarks that it sounds legendary. Gaimar describes four earls carrying the swords before the king, one of them Anselm’s old friend Hugh earl of Chester, who held his golden rod. Gaimar says the feast was attended by many kings, dukes, and counts.⁶⁵ Rufus allowed Ranulf Flambard to buy the bishopric of Durham—vacant since 1095—for £1,000, suggesting that this type of transaction would now be the norm for the English church. Basking in all this glory, Rufus set off for the New Forest for a holiday and some recreation.⁶⁶

There were many visions and portents of the king’s death, William of Malmesbury informs us. He chooses to recount only three, the first of which was reported by “our contemporary, Eadmer, a historian with a praiseworthy standard of truth.” Anselm, Eadmer says, had gone to Marcigny “to lay his troubles and cares before Hugh abbot of Cluny.”⁶⁷ According to Eadmer, on the eve of Rufus’s death, August 1, the day of St. Peter in Chains, Abbot Hugh swore that “as a matter of assured truth, the king had been accused before the throne of God, judged, and had sentence of damnation passed upon him.”⁶⁸ William of Malmesbury remarks, “how he knew this, he did not then explain, nor did any of his hearers ask him; but such was his merit in religion that no one present had the slightest doubt that his words were true,” attributing this to his reputation, his life, and his wisdom, so that it was as if “an oracle had spoken from inmost heaven.”⁶⁹ Nevertheless, neither William of Malmesbury nor Eadmer explained how Hugh knew about the judgment, nor how it was made, nor of whom was composed the Court of God where it was made. They both merely said Hugh announced the judgment to Anselm.

⁶³ Barlow, *Rufus*, 399.

⁶⁴ OV, 5:280–281. Orderic says he was prepared to offer battle to prevent his brother Robert from entering Normandy.

⁶⁵ Geoffrei Gaimar, *Estoire des Engleis/History of the English*, ed. and trans. Ian Short (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2009), 325–331.

⁶⁶ Barlow, *Rufus*, 400–401.

⁶⁷ GR, 1:572–573.

⁶⁸ Eadmer, VA, 122–123.

⁶⁹ GR, 1:572–573.

According to Eadmer, “by the just judgement of God [the king] was stricken down and slain.”⁷⁰ Divine vengeance fell on him for his treatment of Anselm.⁷¹ On the Feast of St. Peter in Chains, August 1, one of Anselm’s clerks had a vision of a young man who appeared to him and said, “know for certain that the whole dispute between Archbishop Anselm and King William is at an end and settled.” The next night, Eadmer says, “one of us” clerks was standing singing psalms when a note was pressed into his hand on which was written, “King William has died.” As the cleric had his eyes closed at that moment, he did not know who placed the parchment note in his hand—when he opened his eyes, “he saw no one but his companions.”⁷² A miraculous revelation is implied—but another reading could be that Anselm’s party was being informed that the deed foretold by Hugh of Cluny had been done, and Eadmer has described it in such a way as to conceal the messenger. The implication is that Anselm’s party had a network of communications such that they were informed almost immediately on the death of the king.

Eadmer reports as Rufus’s last relevant act, not his magnificent conquests on the Continent and in Wales and Scotland, but his statement on hearing of the death of Pope Urban in July 1099, “The hatred of God rest upon whoever cares a rap for that But the new pope, what sort of man is he?” When told that in some respects he was like Archbishop Anselm, according to Eadmer, Rufus replied, “By the face of God, if he is like that, he is no good. But let him keep strictly to himself, for his popedom shall not get the upper hand of me this time; to that I take my oath; meantime I have gained my freedom and shall do freely as I like.” Eadmer comments that “he had the idea that not even the pope of the whole world could have any jurisdiction in his realm unless it were by his permission.”⁷³ Thus, in Eadmer’s eyes, added to his horrendous treatment of Anselm, now Rufus was poised to make war against the new pope Paschal himself. But Eadmer does not make clear how he knew Rufus had said these things. Was he making them up, or was he getting reports from Anselm’s advocates at the royal court? If he was receiving news of the goings-on at court as early as a year before Rufus’s death, a good candidate as an informant was Bishop Gundulf of Rochester, who had formed a good relationship with King William Rufus as a mediator between the king and his enemies. After Lanfranc had died, Gundulf had administered the spiritual jurisdictions of Canterbury; and *Vita Gundulfi*

⁷⁰ Eadmer, HN, 116.

⁷¹ Eadmer, VA, 122–123.

⁷² Eadmer, VA, 124.

⁷³ Eadmer, HN, 115–116.

reports that as the Conqueror loved Lanfranc, William II loved Gundulf more than any other bishop, and protected Rochester while oppressing the rest.⁷⁴

During Anselm's exile, Gundulf remained in England. Although we do not know who administered Canterbury during Anselm's first exile, Gundulf administered the see during Anselm's second exile. Anselm's good friend Walter Tirel, who had recently fought against Rufus's invasion of France, a major donor to Bec, was also attending the king's court, attracted by the king's openhandedness, according to William of Malmesbury.⁷⁵ Had Walter Tirel changed sides, or was he still loyal to the king of France? Or might he be still loyal to Anselm and Bec? Or to the new Pope Paschal? Whatever the case, Eadmer seems to have been receiving reports from the king's court while he was in exile with Anselm. Among the many candidates for informants to Anselm's party were Gundulf, Walter Tirel, and a legion of others.

There were other reports of portents of the king's death—which of course could have been added to these accounts posthumously, as miraculous foretellings.⁷⁶ On the other hand, these foretellings, like the dream of Hugh of Cluny, could be interpreted as warnings, received and noted. We cannot know for sure. William Rufus himself is reported to have had a nightmare the night before he died that he was being bled, and "a spurt of blood shooting up to the sky overcast the sun and brought darkness upon the day." The king woke up terrified, had lights brought in, and ordered his servants to keep watch with him. Near dawn, "a certain foreign monk" told the leading magnate Robert FitzHamon that he also had had a strange and horrible dream. "The king had come into a church, looking scornfully round on the congregation with his usual haughty and insolent air; he had then seized the Crucifix in his teeth, gnawed away the arms of the Figure, and almost broken off its legs ... at length the Figure gave the king such a kick ... that he fell over backwards; and as he lay there such a gush of flame came out of his mouth that the rolling billows of smoke even reached the stars." Robert FitzHamon, as he was in the king's inner counsels, seriously

⁷⁴ *Vita Gundulfi, The Life of Gundulf of Rochester*, ed. Rodney Thompson (Toronto Medieval Latin Texts, Toronto, 1977), 49–50.

⁷⁵ GR, 1:574–575.

⁷⁶ OV, 5:284–289. Orderic says "terrifying visions involving him were seen by men of both orders in monasteries and bishoprics." Among them was a dream by a monk at Gloucester, about which, when he heard it, Abbot Serlo wrote letters of warning to the king. On the very day of the Feast of St. Peter in Chains, August 1, Fulchred, a monk of Seez and abbot of Shrewsbury prophesied the king's death from the pulpit of Glastonbury with these words: "Behold the bow of divine anger is bent against the wicked and the arrow swift to wound is taken from the quiver. It will strike suddenly; let every wise man avoid the blow by amending his life."

worried, went straight in and told the king about the foreign monk's dream. Strangely, after he had spent the night terrified by his own dream, Rufus is reported to have responded with a roar of laughter. "He's a monk, and has these monkish dreams with an eye to the main chance. Give him a hundred shillings." Nevertheless, Rufus was shaken, and spent a long time wondering whether to go hunting in the forest as he had planned; and his friends tried to dissuade him from "risking his life."⁷⁷ All this sounds like the king was being warned—in fact, given three warnings—before his death: his own dream, the foreign monk's dream, and the warnings of his friends. William of Malmesbury reports that his mind was in turmoil, so he did not go hunting but ate a fine meal and drank "more heavily than was his custom." And after dinner he and a few companions hastened into the forest. His most intimate friend Walter Tirel stayed with Rufus, while all the others scattered. Orderic reports that earlier in the day, joyous and mirthful in spite of the prophesies of doom being told him, Rufus had received six fine arrows from a smith who had made them. Rufus shared them with Walter Tirel, giving him two of the sharpest.⁷⁸ As the sun set, with the dazzling sun in his eyes, Rufus shot and slightly wounded a stag. Simultaneously, Walter Tirel "conceived a noble ambition" to lay low another stag passing and—"God have mercy on us!—unknowingly and without power to prevent it he sent his fatal arrow through the king's breast." Rufus broke off the shaft and fell on the wound, uttering not a word. Walter at once leapt on his horse and got clean away, "one party conniving at his flight, others pitying him;" but they all were mobilized to fortify their own places of refuge, carrying away what spoils they could, and "some looking about them every moment for a new king"⁷⁹—a scene of utter chaos in which Walter Tirel got clean away. Whether he was truly Rufus's "most familiar" trusted friend, as William of Malmesbury asserts, has never been resolved. What we do know is that he was a new friend to Rufus, a friend who had recently been defeated in the French battles around Pointoise. This brings to mind the words of Rufus's long and most trusted counsellor Robert of Meulan, on the occasion of his dissuading Rufus from trusting Count Elias of Maine just after Rufus's defeat of him. The wily Robert warned the king that a conquered enemy might be fraudulently professing a wish to be his counsellor in order to be closer to his secret counsels, "so that when opportunity favours him, he may rebel all the more savagely and form a deadlier alliance with your enemies."⁸⁰ Thus Orderic may have been foreshadowing Walter Tirel's actions.

⁷⁷ GR, 1:572–575.

⁷⁸ OV, 5:288–289.

⁷⁹ GR, 1:574–575.

⁸⁰ OV, 5:248–249.

Nevertheless, Such was William of Malmesbury's account of the death of William Rufus—an account surely based on eyewitnesses to it, and ringing quite true—from the warnings given to Rufus to his death from Walter Tirel's arrow, which William implies sailed on its course without Walter's power to prevent it, and thus directed by the hand of God. Eadmer, on the other hand, has Rufus dying in the morning, “struck by an arrow that pierced his heart, impenitent and unconfessed, he died instantly and was at once forsaken by everyone. Whether, as some say, that arrow struck him in its flight or, as the majority declare, he stumbled and falling violently upon it met his death, is a question we think it unnecessary to go into; sufficient to know that by the just judgment of God he was stricken down and slain.”⁸¹ Eadmer does not mention Walter Tirel, and John of Salisbury—who, as a member of Archbishop Theobald's court was very likely in a position to know who the murderers were—tries to throw doubt on Walter's responsibility—not very effectively. First, John said that who shot the arrow is “still uncertain. For Walter Tirel—who was accused by many of the king's death because he was a member of his household and was near him in chasing the wild beasts, and was almost the only one close by him even when he was at the point of death—testified, after invoking God's judgment on his own soul, that he had no part in the king's murder.” Note that John recognized the king's death as a “murder—*caede*.” Then John goes on to claim that the king himself shot the arrow that had struck him in the heart—an impossibility. “There were many who claimed that the king himself had shot the arrow by which he was killed, and Walter constantly maintained this, although he was not believed. Certainly,” John adds, “whoever did this faithfully obeyed the will of God, who had pity on the misfortunes of his church.”⁸²

Eadmer goes on immediately to describe a conversation Rufus once had with Gundulf of Rochester, telling Gundulf “that God would never find him become good in return for the evil which God had done to him”—presumably in inflicting Anselm on him. Eadmer goes on to comment that God had in reality favored him: “you would suppose that all the world was smiling upon him, the wind and even the sea itself seemed to obey him,” as God granted him victory after victory, raging storms at sea were stilled at his approach, and he “so prospered in all his doings that it was as if God was saying in answer to his words, ‘If, as you say, I shall never find you become good in return for evil, I will try whether instead I can find you become good in return for good, and so

⁸¹ Eadmer, HN, 116.

⁸² John of Salisbury, *Vita Anselmi*, 55–56. For John's use of the word *caede*—which Ronald E. Pepin rightly translates as “murder”, see John of Salisbury, *Vita Sancti Anselmi, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, by J.P. Migne, vol. 199 (Paris, 1900), cols 1009–1040, at col. 1031.

in all that you consider good I will fulfill your wishes.” But even in such great prosperity, the gift of God, Rufus grew worse and more evil day by day. “So, since he refused either to be disciplined by ill-fortune or to be led to right-doing by good fortune, to prevent his raging with fury long continued to the detriment of all good men, the just Judge by a death sharp and swift cut short his life in this world.”⁸³ Eadmer was certain God had struck the fatal blow, and unlike William of Malmesbury and Orderic Vitalis never mentioned Walter Tirel.

When two of his own monks—one from Bec and one from Canterbury—came to Anselm to announce the king’s death, Anselm was “utterly stupefied” and burst into bitter tears. His companions were somewhat surprised, but Anselm explained, sobbing, “that if it had been possible he would much rather that his own body had died than the king had died in his present state.”⁸⁴ The Canterbury monk brought a letter with entreaties of the Mother Church of the English people to return to his sons and comfort them “now that the tyrant was dead.”⁸⁵ But the people of Lyons and northern France were desolate at the thought that Anselm would now leave them to return to England.

Thus Eadmer had no doubt whatsoever that Rufus the tyrant had been struck down by the just hand of God. William of Malmesbury, on the other hand, raised some serious doubts about the whole series of events. He says that he is veiling the topic of the “hotbed of evils” or “whirlpool of vices” emanating from William Rufus, who used no diligence to correct them but rather made a display of negligence, to his great and indelible—and deserved—discredit. Nevertheless, Malmesbury is “ashamed to speak evil of so great a king,” and is “devoting his efforts to refuting or palliating the evil spoken of him.”⁸⁶ According to the reconstructed *Gesta Pontificum* manuscript β , no one—not God or any holiness in any man—could curb the outspokenness of King William Rufus. Everything that was said to him he turned aside with a burst of anger or a witty remark.⁸⁷ In his final autograph copy A, Malmesbury corrected this passage to read: ‘Indeed it should be seen as a further sign of greatness in the king that, though he could have carried every point by exercising naked power, he preferred to turn some things aside with a jest, resorting to sallies of wit rather than make a decision.’⁸⁸ Here, contrary to all other contemporary historians, and most modern ones, Malmesbury views King William Rufus not as the horrendous monster that

⁸³ Eadmer, HN, 116–117.

⁸⁴ Eadmer, VA, 126; HN, 118 says much the same thing.

⁸⁵ Eadmer, HN, 118.

⁸⁶ GR, 1:560–561.

⁸⁷ GP, 1:119; see xv–xvi for the lost β , which contained much that was erased from Malmesbury’s final copy, A.

⁸⁸ GP, 1:119.

Eadmer portrays—deteriorating from sacrilegious greed to homosexuality to atheism and sheer madness—but as a skilled statesman, using the soothing lubricant of humor to defuse difficult situations. As we argued above, he seems to have learned such statesmanship from his tutor Lanfranc. Moreover, William of Malmesbury admired Rufus for his magnificent conquests and chivalrous behavior in forgiving and even rewarding a knight who unknowingly tried to kill the king, whom he did not recognize: “Bravo, most generous king! How can I praise you for words like these? You fall not short of the glory of great Alexander long ago.”⁸⁹ And immediately he contrasted Rufus’s Alexandrian courage and daring to the mildness of Duke Robert Curthose, soft-hearted and courteously charitable toward his enemies. William Rufus laughed at his brother in scorn.⁹⁰

Rufus, Malmesbury states, “was a man of high principles”—although he himself obscured them.⁹¹ He was naturally gifted with a “spirit prolific of great ideas,” and he certainly would have been as great as his father had he not died at an early age.⁹² While Lanfranc lived, Rufus “refrained from all wrongdoing, and it was hoped that he would turn out a paragon among princes.” But his many virtues turned into vices one by one. Fierce and threatening in public, in private “he was all mildness and complaisance, and relied much on jest to carry a point, in particular a merry critic of his own mistakes, so as to reduce the unpopularity they caused and dissolve it in laughter.”⁹³ His early death, Malmesbury states, “prevented the faults developed by unlimited power and youthful spirits from being corrected by maturer years.”⁹⁴ He died over forty years of age.

Immensely ambitious, he would have been immensely successful, had he been able to complete his allotted span, or to break through the violence of Fortune and fight his way above it. His energy of mind was such that he was ready to promise himself any kingdom ... Not content with his paternal inheritance, and carried away by hopes of greater distinction, he was always intent on titles to which he had no right. By those in holy orders he was a man greatly to be pitied for the perdition of his soul, whose salvation they do their best to [or, they cannot] reestablish; by the knights in his pay much to be admired for his lavish generosity.⁹⁵

⁸⁹ GR, 1:550–551.

⁹⁰ GR, 1:552–553.

⁹¹ GR, 1:554–555.

⁹² GR, 1:542–545.

⁹³ GR, 1:554–557.

⁹⁴ GR, 1:542–545.

⁹⁵ GR, 1:576–577.

Such was the epitaph of William Rufus by William of Malmesbury. Although he continues with several of Rufus's abuses of the church—holding no councils, loving money, conferring ecclesiastical offices from financial motives, holding vacant bishoprics and abbeys in his hand, and supporting the anti-pope Wibert over Urban—nevertheless Malmesbury's sad regret at the king's untimely death is far more positive and favorable than Eadmer's portrayal. Indeed, Anselm himself, convulsed in sobs and tears at Rufus's death, may well have shared similar sentiments, contrary to Eadmer's blanket condemnation of the tyrant king.

While we can never know for sure, the evidence I have presented above suggests that the death of William Rufus was no accident, and was much regretted by many—including William of Malmesbury and Anselm. There are hints of the collusion of Reform churchmen, from Hugh of Cluny and Hugh of Lyons, to the monks and lay patrons of Bec and Canterbury—and even of Pope Paschal II. Anselm benefited hugely: now at last, from an utterly hopeless situation, he would be restored to the archiepiscopate and return to his rightful place in England. Did his friends and supporters scheme to make this possible? The possible conspirators, whoever they may have been beyond Walter Tirel, may have thought they were helping Anselm; but, knowing he would never approve, must have kept the knowledge of the plot from him.

Pope Paschal also benefited hugely, for while Rufus reigned there was no hope of England's support for Paschal's reform party, for, as we have seen, Rufus viewed Paschal with scorn, on his accession, when being told he was a man like Anselm. The new Pope Paschal could now be sure of the support of England, as it turned out, with Anselm's restoration. Men like Hugh of Lyons and Hugh of Cluny might have seen this double benefit from the murder of William Rufus—whether or not they were directly involved. Of all the men around Anselm and Paschal, Hugh de Die, Archbishop of Lyon, stands forth as the likeliest of the conspirators. For Hugh, as a long-time papal legate under Pope Gregory VII and Urban II, had been chastised time after time for overstepping his legatine powers, even to the extent of papal reversals of his decisions.⁹⁶ Finally, Rufus's brother Henry I would jump on his horse and secure the English throne for himself. But while for centuries Henry has been the prime suspect for those who believe William Rufus was murdered, the evidence is far more suggestive of a plot by a network of churchmen whose foreknowledge of the event is recorded. We must note that Anselm was conspicuously not among those receiving dreams of such foreknowledge. Walter Tirel, whose hand loosed the fatal arrow, although a major donor to Bec, was also, just shortly before switching his loyalty

⁹⁶ Kriston R. Rennie, *Law and Practice in the Age of Reform: The Legatine Work of Hugh of Die (1073–1106)* (Brepols: Turnhout, 2010), 52, 94–95, 96–97, 201, 204–205, 207–208.

to William Rufus, fighting against him on the side of the French, who certainly had much to gain from the death of William Rufus. For the new King Henry was immediately quite insecure on his throne, and must fight off the claims of his older brother Robert Curthose.

That Henry was not behind the murder plot (if such it was), is suggested by Pope Paschal's letters that reminded Henry on at least two occasions that Henry had acquired the throne through the death of his misbehaving brother, brought down by the hand of God. In 1102, Paschal reminded Henry that God had raised him to kingship through "the pleasure of His will," by which he also had maintained him as a Christian king, because he had abandoned the impiety of his brother "which, as you see, has been terribly punished by divine judgment." Henry should "avoid like poison" the advice of men who were "trying to make the royal heart deserve divine displeasure," lest he offend "him through whom kings reign and the mighty decree what is just if, God forbid!—you offend him, no advice from your nobles, no assistance from your soldiers, no arms, no riches will be able to help you when he starts to destroy you."⁹⁷ Paschal seems to be alluding to the hand of God striking down William Rufus. Later, Paschal explicitly warned Henry not to follow the example of his royal brother, taking away from God what belongs to God, lest he be punished by "a death like your brother's."⁹⁸ So Paschal cannot be said to be free from suspicion—and it is not impossible that a papal initiative could have flourished without Anselm's knowledge, while he was engrossed in his theological writing. Or that Hugh de Die, archbishop of Lyons, had once more overstepped his legatine authority on behalf of Pope Paschal. The evidence is so circumstantial that we can never know for sure.

Whatever the case, there is no hint in the sources that Henry had anything to do with his brother's demise other than to seize his main chance and secure his own right to the throne. But the killing of William Rufus would have enormous consequences for his own reign, and for the part Anselm would play in it—to which we shall now turn.

⁹⁷ Anselm, Ep. 224, Paschal to Henry.

⁹⁸ Anselm, Ep. 351, Paschal to Henry.

Chapter 6

Two Oxen Pulling the Plow of the Church through the Land of England: Archbishop Anselm and King Henry I

With the death of William Rufus, Anselm's position in England changed dramatically. Before Rufus died, Anselm's position had been hopeless. Rufus's brother Henry, who had been in the royal hunting party, leapt on his horse and headed for Winchester, where he seized the royal treasury and with the help of key magnates such as Robert of Meulan and Henry of Beaumont, arranged for his own coronation as king and successor to his childless, unmarried brother. Henry also had the great fortune that his eldest brother Robert Curthose, who had pawned Normandy to Rufus in 1095/6, was still returning from the Holy Land, where he had gone on the First Crusade. Although it seems unlikely that Henry was a party to the assassination of his brother, and was taken by surprise as much as anyone, Henry was quick-thinking, well educated, and well schooled enough in Anglo-Norman politics to understand just what he must do.

Moreover, Henry's shrewd moves were enhanced by equally shrewd advisors and supporters. Robert of Meulan, as we have seen, had been King William II's chief advisor, and now he and his brother Henry of Beaumont, along with Henry's other close advisors whom Orderic identifies by name—Hugh earl of Chester, Roger Bigod *Dapifer*, and Richard of Redvers—rallied to Henry's side. William of Malmesbury adds Robert FitzHamon to the list of Henry's loyal supporters.¹ These men stood solidly behind the new king. Hugh of Chester and Richard of Redvers had been supporters of Henry in his youthful travails at the mercy of his two elder brothers,² although Anselm's old friend Hugh of Chester, as we have seen, was also active at Rufus's court, as was Robert of Meulan. Prominent clerics among Henry's supporters were Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, who had frequented Rufus's inner circle; Roger, chancellor and future bishop of

¹ OV, 5:298; GR, 1:716–717.

² OV, 4:220.

Salisbury; and William Giffard, Rufus's chancellor, advanced by Henry to the bishopric of Winchester.³

Maurice bishop of London crowned Henry August 5, 1100, at Westminster, and Henry immediately issued his coronation charter, pledging to uphold the laws and practices of Edward the Confessor and Henry's father William I, and to correct the specific wrongs perpetrated by his brother William II Rufus—especially Rufus's abuses of the church.⁴ Interestingly, as William of Malmesbury describes it, the charter echoed precisely the points William Rufus had made in his own charter, issued on his coronation under Lanfranc and reissued on the eve of Rufus's appointment of Anselm as archbishop: after prohibiting the unjust practices of Rufus and his agent Ranulf Flambard, Henry's charter remitted imposts and freed prisoners, and the just rule of ancient laws were re-established to the full, confirmed by his own oath and the oaths of his men. In addition, Henry vowed to purge his court of effeminates, restoring the use of lamps at night which had been given up by his brother. He confirmed by his own oath and the oaths of his men that none should “make game—*ne ludeantur*” of the ancient laws.⁵ This last, interesting, comment suggests a criticism of William Rufus's habitual humor and jesting, while the purging of effeminates at court answers churchmen's—including Anselm, Eadmer, and Orderic Vitalis—accusations of sodomy at Rufus's court.⁶ However, none of these effeminates are ever named, nor is there any record of their purging. It is important to note that sodomy is a kind of symbol for heresy.

Henry I needed all the support he could get to hold on to his throne, and Henry immediately “sent in haste for Anselm.”⁷ Anselm's potential support would have been the foremost jewel in his new crown. Henry's first problem was that, with Anselm in exile and the see of York vacant, who could crown the king? Henry and his advisors asked Maurice bishop of London to do so

³ Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 218 n. 17.

⁴ *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154* Vol. 2, *Regesta Henrici Primi 1100–1135*, eds. Charles Johnson and H.A. Cronne (The Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1956), no. 1, p. 305.

⁵ GR, 1:714–715, Eadmer, HN, 119. For the full coronation charter in translation, see *English Historical Documents*, vol. 2, ed. D.C. Douglas and D. Greenway, 2nd edn (London, 1981), 2:432–434. On its provisions, see C. Warren Hollister, *Henry I*, ed. and completed by Amanda Clark Frost (Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 2001), 109–111.

⁶ One of the activities at William Rufus's court that Anselm had criticized was effeminate dressing, long hair, and mincing and delicate gaits. He also counseled King William to help wipe out the sin of sodomy, at that time widespread in his realm. Eadmer, HN, 48–49. OV, 4:186–91, accuses the men at William Rufus's court only of effeminacy, not sodomy.

⁷ GR, 1:714–715. For Henry's letter to Anselm, see Part II, 5a, Ep., 212.

in this emergency, while Henry wrote a fervent letter to Anselm apologizing that Maurice had crowned him in this dire emergency when it was Anselm's rightful duty, pleading with Anselm to return to his archbishopric and, "as father of all the people of England, and of me your son, ... that you come as swiftly as you can to counsel me."⁸ This statement affirms Henry's willingness to live with Anselm according to his two-oxen theory: the king was to listen to the archbishop as his first counsellor. Taken together with the Coronation Charter,⁹ Henry promised Anselm every Canterbury privilege he had desired and sought from William Rufus if only he would return to England to serve with Henry. Henry committed himself and the people of England to Anselm's care and counsel, and to "those who ought to counsel me with you," as we see in Part II, 5a, Epistle 212. He warned Anselm that "all the world"—the Norman world—was in turmoil, and told him to come via Wissant, not through Normandy. As Eadmer tells us, Anselm was already on the way, in response to the letter he had already received from Canterbury.¹⁰

Reading Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*, one could be forgiven for thinking that the issues that had been so straightforward under William Rufus now became complex and subtle. But the issues were clear, and they were almost the same under the new ruler of England. What was different was the character and position of the combatants. William Rufus himself was quite straightforward and even blunt in his pronouncements and policies—because he was enormously powerful. As he clearly told Anselm, he himself wanted to exercise the office of archbishop. To share his power with anyone as a royal ox yoked to an equally powerful archiepiscopal ox pulling the plow of the church through England would be, to him, to agree to the loss of the jewel of his sovereignty, as we have seen. Rufus wanted to be a sole king, not a co-ruler. And he was strong and entrenched enough, by the time Anselm became archbishop, to be so. Recall that Rufus probably had been educated by Lanfranc, and would have understood Lanfranc's and Anselm's vision of the right order of England's rule—and also would have understood how Lanfranc "managed" his father to at least appear to agree to such a plan. This Rufus had resisted mightily, at last throwing Anselm out of the kingdom and dispossessing him of the archbishopric when Anselm held fast to his principles.

⁸ Ep. 212, Part II, 5a.

⁹ Since Henry's Coronation Charter was issued on August 5, the day of his coronation, it is not unlikely that he sent a copy to Anselm along with his letter, as copies of the charter were sent throughout the kingdom.

¹⁰ Eadmer, HN, 118.

Henry surely would also have preferred to rule alone,¹¹ but was in a far weaker position than Rufus had been. With Robert Curthose on the way home to claim the English throne, Henry desperately needed Anselm's support. Many of the Anglo-Norman barons would prefer Curthose's rule simply because they would prefer a unified realm of England and Normandy, and Curthose could give it to them immediately. Just as Lanfranc and the Conqueror managed to create the legal fiction that the Conqueror was the direct heir of his cousin Edward the Confessor, and that the Normans themselves were inheritors of their Anglo-Saxon *antecessores*,¹² so the Anglo-Norman chronicles—led by Eadmer—created both the fiction that William Rufus was a homosexual, an atheist, a Jew-lover, and a madman (as I have argued above); and the fiction that his brother Robert Curthose was a weak incompetent whose weakness was a danger to the church.¹³ Just as most of the Norman chroniclers and annalists picked up Eadmer's version of William Rufus—with the exception, as I have argued above, of William of Malmesbury—so most of them followed the judgment of Orderic Vitalis on Duke Robert Curthose's incompetence, profligacy, and weakness—including William of Malmesbury.¹⁴ Rufus was too strong, Curthose was too weak, but, like their famous father, William the Conqueror, Henry I was just right. These judgments were, of course, made in retrospect, and cannot be taken at face value, but must be altered in the face of the chroniclers' other evidence, not their opinions.

¹¹ That this is so seems evident from Henry's response to Anselm's death, when Henry was far more powerful. He left the archbishopric of Canterbury vacant for four years, just as had William Rufus—although he did not exploit the church as Rufus had, appointing Ralph d'Escures to govern it. See below.

¹² On the creation of this fiction, see the masterful book by George Garnett, *Conquered England: Succession, and Tenure 1066–1166*, *passim*.

¹³ Orderic, writing well after Robert's career, and thus with hindsight, seems the harshest on Duke Robert. For example, see his account of Henry I's justification for conquering Normandy from Robert Curthose, 1104–1106: "Because of Robert's weakness, monks were scattered, churches plundered and burnt, and the laws of the Conqueror were being flouted." OV, 6:284–286. Thus Henry is portrayed as a champion of justice and savior of the Norman churches, devastated by the duke's lenience, generosity, and general incompetence; cf. OV, 6:32–36, 40–44, 46–48, 86. For a summary, see Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 267–272. For a revival of the reputation of Robert Curthose, see William M. Aird, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy (c. 1050–1134)* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2008), especially 87–93, 151, 282–286.

¹⁴ See Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 270; and GR, 1:553; 701–702, 704–707. Hollister, *Henry I*, 21, comments that the Anglo-Norman chroniclers tended to draw upon "a common pool of sources."

These judgments, of course, the Anglo-Norman chroniclers understood after the fact, when they wrote about it, but we must understand the nature of the sources. Virtually all the Anglo-Norman chroniclers except William of Malmesbury maligned Henry's brothers, contrasting them to Henry's good rule as the Lion of Justice, a Renaissance Prince of Peace, as C.W. Hollister portrays him.¹⁵ Henry owes his good reputation among his contemporaries not only to his own innate intelligence, talents, shrewdness, strength, and abilities, but above all to his willingness and ability to work out a compromise with Anselm; to become, at least in appearance, a co-ox with the archbishop of Canterbury. Almost the entire story of Anselm's pontificate under King Henry is the complex, delicate ballet of working out this compromise between these two brilliant men, each of whom met his match in the other.

As Judith Green remarks, "William the Conqueror and Matilda seem to have taken particular care over the education of their children."¹⁶ Henry himself "received a princely education," and indeed "the throne seemed destined to be his." He was schooled to read books—Latin, of course—in particular searching out "political wisdom" in them. Malmesbury indirectly likens him to one of Plato's philosopher-kings, stating that Henry acquired "more than a tincture" of philosophy, so that "while still a youth he equipped himself by education to realize his royal hopes." He even used to joke around with the proverb, "An unlettered king is a crowned ass" in his father's presence—suggesting not impudence toward his father, but his father's sympathetic agreement, for the Conqueror educated all his children. And while Henry was a child, his father said to him that he would be king one day,¹⁷ suggesting that, in giving him such a superb education, the Conqueror had in mind to endow him with a kingdom—whether England, we cannot know. That William Rufus received England on the Conqueror's death may be due to Henry's age, only nineteen, at that time, or to Lanfranc's good hopes for his training of William Rufus.

Orderic confirms Malmesbury's statement: when Henry reached a teachable age, he acquired knowledge of letters.¹⁸ Well-instructed in Latin letters, natural

¹⁵ Hollister, *Henry I*, 1–18. 484 for "the almost universal approval of Henry earned from his contemporaries," who emphasized that the king kept the peace.

¹⁶ Judith Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006), 22. She notes that Curthose had tutors, and that Adela, later countess of Blois/Champagne, could read: n. 11. Cecilia, who became abbess of La Trinité, Caen, the ducal abbey, was educated by Lanfranc at Caen, and perhaps also the little daughter of the Conqueror to whom Anselm sent "a garland of psalms," suggesting that she could read, might be added to this list. Anselm, Ep. 10.

¹⁷ GR, 1:708–711.

¹⁸ OV, 2:214.

philosophy, and the study of doctrine, he even read personally letters addressed to him.¹⁹ Since we know that Lanfranc reared—*nutrierat*—William Rufus, it seems unlikely that anyone else would be entrusted with Henry’s education—or at least its oversight. Indeed, Orderic tells us that Lanfranc “presented him for knighthood for the defence of the kingdom, invested him with the hauberk, placed the helmet on his head and girded him with the belt of knighthood in the name of the Lord as a king’s son born in the purple.”²⁰ The fact that Boso, Bec’s abbot from 1124 to 1136, was linked by terms of “intimate familiarity” to King Henry,²¹ suggests that Henry might well have become closely acquainted with Boso, who had been trained by Anselm at Bec and followed Anselm’s habits and principles of life.²² Boso had been with Anselm from 1094 to perhaps 1097, for Boso returned to Bec while Anselm was in exile, but, at Anselm’s request, returned to England from 1106 to Anselm’s death in 1109.²³ Henry’s close familiarity with one of Anselm’s most fervent followers, and a future abbot of Bec, suggests that the future king may well have been educated at Canterbury, filled with Bec monks and where a succession of Bec priors ruled, or at one of the many abbeys in England ruled by a Bec/Caen-trained abbot.²⁴ If this is the case, Henry, like William Rufus, would have been trained in the Bec tradition, and well understood Anselm’s two-oxen theory of England’s rule, and its sources—and Lanfranc’s and Anselm’s “management” tactics. The future king’s particular interest in political aspects of philosophy, which William of Malmesbury says helped him rule well and improve his rule of the people, “riding them with

¹⁹ OV, 4:120, 6:50. Suger of St. Denis also saw Henry as a man of learning, Suger, *Vie de Louis VI, le Gros*, 14; Suger, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. Richard C. Cusimano and John Moorhead (Catholic University of America Press, Washington DC, 1992); Suger called Henry’s learning “amazing and worthy of praise;” and Henry of Huntingdon noted that “he was held famous as much for his highest wisdom—*summa sapientia*—as for his profoundest counsel and conspicuous foresight and eloquence.” Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Diana Greenway (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1996), 255. Anselm wrote many letters to Henry, and Henry wrote many to Anselm and even to Pope Paschal. In Part II, see 5a, and 5e, Henry to Anselm, 5f, Anselm to Henry, 6e, Henry to Anselm, 7c, Anselm to Henry.

²⁰ OV, 4:120–121.

²¹ Robert of Torigny, *The Chronicles of Robert de Monte*, trans. Joseph Stephenson (Facsimile Reprint by Llanarch Publishers, 1991, repaginated), 36.

²² *Vita Bosoni*, trans. in S. Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State* (The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1981), 126–133, at 127.

²³ VB, 127.

²⁴ See S. Vaughn, “The Students of Bec in England,” forthcoming in the Proceedings of the Anselm Conference at Canterbury, on the Nine-Hundredth anniversary of his death, *St. Anselm of Canterbury and His Legacy*, ed. Giles Gasper and Ian Logan, Durham Publications in Medieval and Renaissance Studies (the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies (Toronto, 2012), pp. 76–98.

a lighter rein” and withholding his knights from engagements not clearly inevitable,²⁵ suggests a Bec/Canterbury influence as well, for Bec-trained men filled nearly all the abbatial, and some of the episcopal, positions in England.²⁶ For as Lanfranc guided the Conqueror as his first advisor, surely the archbishop would have urged the king to educate Henry at a Bec school—probably Canterbury.²⁷ The suggestion that Osmund bishop of Salisbury educated Henry because the two often attested the same charters is purely circumstantial.²⁸ With Lanfranc a virtual co-ruler, managing the king as William of Malmesbury reports, a Bec/Canterbury education is far more likely.

Anselm returned to England swiftly, just in time to help Henry with the first crisis of his reign, the return of Robert Curthose and the consequent 1101 invasion of England. First, however, according to William of Malmesbury, Henry married his queen Edith-Matilda of Scotland.²⁹ Edith, as she was then known, was the daughter of King Malcolm of Scotland and St. Margaret of Scotland, and had been raised at Romsey Abbey under her aunt Christina’s tutelage. Thus, not only was she as highly educated as Henry himself,³⁰ she was the ideal marriage partner for the Norman king, with her kinship to Edward the Confessor, the Anglo-Saxon king Edmund Ironside, and direct descent from King Alfred the Great.³¹ Indeed, William Rufus had sought her hand in marriage when she was at Wilton Abbey, but Wilton’s abbess had placed a veil on her head to protect the girl, she said, from a possible rape. Later, Edith-Matilda testified that she had torn off the veil and stomped on it, never wishing to be a nun. But when she tried to leave the abbey of Wilton, where she was then living, to marry Count Alan

²⁵ GR, 1:710–711.

²⁶ Vaughn, “The Students of Bec in England.”

²⁷ Hollister argues for Henry’s education at Salisbury, under St. Osmund, the Conqueror’s former chancellor, but his evidence is merely a possibility, supported by Osmund’s attestations to charters to which Henry also attested. *Henry I*, 36–37 and nn. One charter, RRAN 2, no. 1134 (1107–1116) mentions Robert Achard as Henry’s *magistro meo*. Beyond this and one other grant to Robert Achard, no. 833, the only other possibility for Robert Achard’s identity is the “A(r)chard (*Harcherius*) who conveyed the offer of the lordship of Domfront to Henry in 1092,” OV, 4:256–258 and nn., Hollister, *Henry I*, 37 n. 46. See Hollister, *Henry I*, 87–88 for the details of this family, none of which indicate that Robert Achard could have been Henry’s tutor as a boy.

²⁸ Cf. Hollister, *Henry I*, 36–37, and Green, *Henry I*, 22.

²⁹ GR, 1:714–715. For the following discussion in general, see Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 223–225; and Hollister, *Henry I*, 126–132.

³⁰ See Part II, 5b and 6a for Anselm’s letters to Matilda, to which she replied herself with many learned letters.

³¹ On Edith Matilda, see Lois Hunneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study of Medieval Queenship* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2003); and Vaughn, *St. Anselm and the Handmaidens of God*.

of Richmond, Anselm had written to Osmund bishop of Salisbury ordering him to force her back into a nun's habit (for she was wearing secular clothing), and into Wilton.³² He had written two similar letters to Gunhilda, daughter of King Harold Godwinson, to force Gunhilda back into Wilton when she tried first to marry Alan the Red, and then Alan the Black, both lords of Richmond successively.³³ Anselm may well have written these letters for reasons of state: anyone married to either Edith-Matilda or Gunhilda could make a claim for the English throne for his children, or for himself as their guardian.³⁴ Perched on the disputed border between England and Scotland, the two Alans may well have had designs on either or both kingdoms.

But Matilda herself swore that her father had never intended for her to take the veil, and had taken her out of Wilton for this reason.³⁵ Indeed, recall that King Malcolm may have thought of marrying Edith-Matilda to Rufus after all, as the English king cemented his many victories on the eve of his death. As Rufus would have gained much prestige from this ideal marriage, so now did Henry, with his subsequent alliance to the Old English royal line; but, as Hollister points out, so did Edith-Matilda. It was she who persuaded Anselm to condone the marriage and perform the attendant ceremonies: the marriage itself, and her coronation.³⁶ Whether the couple were “in love,” as Hollister surmises,³⁷ or rather attracted to each other because they were such a perfect political match and the marriage benefited both equally, Anselm's previous order to Osmund to force Edith-Matilda back into Wilton was now a problem. Anselm solved it by stepping away from making the judgment himself, and calling for a council of bishops, abbots, and magnates to decide without his participation Matilda's status. Two envoys he had sent to Wilton to investigate returned to report that she had not taken religious vows, and, predictably for the curial council, on the strength of Lanfranc's letter to Gundulf bishop of Rochester that cloistered women who

³² Anselm, Ep. 177.

³³ Anselm, Epp. 168 and 169. I have discussed these letters in great detail elsewhere: Vaughn, *St. Anselm and the Handmaidens of God*, 184–202.

³⁴ That Anselm worked against William Rufus's potential marriage to Edith-Matilda in 1094 suggests that he had not yet reconciled himself with the king, and was using the potential marriage as a kind of bargaining chip. She would have been as perfect a match for Rufus as for Henry.

³⁵ For Eadmer's long account of the whole process, see Eadmer, HN, 121–125.

³⁶ Hollister, *Henry I*, 127; Eadmer, HN, 121–126.

³⁷ Citing Eadmer, HN, 121, who says Henry and Matilda were in love but held back from embracing through their discretion; William of Malmesbury, GR, 1:714–715, saying Henry's mind had long since been turned toward love of her—but also that his friends, and especially the bishops had urged him to “abandon the embrace of his mistresses and to enter lawful wedlock.” Orderic, 5:300, says Henry had long adored the perfection of Matilda's character.

had not professed formally could legally be released from nunneries,³⁸ that the marriage could proceed. Clearly, Anselm had reversed himself in condoning the marriage so beneficial to King Henry, and carefully arranged that the decision be made not by himself but by what amounted to almost a formal episcopal council apparently eager to support the new king. On the other hand, Anselm's actions could have been taken through his concern for Truth, on the basis of which he had earlier argued for the commemoration of St. Elphege, and which he had meditated upon in *De Veritate* at Bec. Whereas the truth of the matter may not have been clear to him earlier when he wrote to the bishop of Salisbury to force Matilda back into the nunnery, his prodigious efforts to place the decision with a formal episcopal council on the basis of her own testimony to her father's intentions suggest a search for the truth of the matter.

The king and queen were married at Martinmas, November 11, 1100. At the request of Edith-Matilda, Anselm performed the ceremony and the queen's coronation. Anselm later, in his letters to her, characterized her as an angelic hen, with all the churches of England under the protection of her wings—in a state analogous to the position of the archbishop himself over the churches of England.³⁹ I have argued elsewhere that Anselm's ideal vision of king, queen, and archbishop went beyond even his two-oxen theory, to include the queen in a kind of triumvirate of rule between three equals: king, archbishop, and queen.⁴⁰ Thus Anselm's approval of the royal marriage constituted his acceptance of a third equal partner in the rule of England. Epistle 243 (Part II, 6a below), illustrates this idea.⁴¹

Even though Anselm had thrown his full support behind the king's marriage, he could not swear homage to or receive investiture from King Henry as he had from Rufus. For he had attended Urban's Easter Council of 1099 in Rome, where he had seen with his own eyes and heard with his own ears that all laymen who invested clerics in their lands and offices, all clerics who received such investitures, the bishops who consecrated such clerics, and any clerics who did homage to laymen were excommunicate.⁴² Henry must have been surprised and nonplussed, to say the least, for he had offered to Anselm every iota of his wishes under William Rufus. Indeed, Eadmer says Henry felt "as if he were losing half his sovereignty."⁴³ And Anselm added that he could not see how his remaining

³⁸ Lanfranc, Ep. 53.

³⁹ Anselm, Ep. 288, Part II, 5b.

⁴⁰ Vaughn, *Anselm and the Handmaidens*, especially 220–241, 246–249, 258–262, 265, 273, 288, esp. 236–237, 258–262.

⁴¹ Anselm, Ep. 243, Part II, 6a.

⁴² Eadmer, HN, 112–114. Cf. Anselm, Ep. 327.

⁴³ Eadmer, HN, 120.

in England would be profitable if the king would not accept the papal bans. Henry, Eadmer says, feared Anselm would go to his brother Robert Curthose, persuade him to agree to the bans of the apostolic see, and “then make him king of England.”⁴⁴ From Eadmer’s point of view, Henry’s fear was plausible, because legally only the archbishop of Canterbury could crown the king.⁴⁵ Indeed, Henry suspected that Robert Curthose would jump at the chance. Since Anselm himself had not crowned Henry king, such an outcome was not impossible, if the legalities were strictly applied. The king and his advisors proposed a truce until the following Easter, April 21, 1101, during which Anselm would be restored to his see in all respects, and Henry would grant no investitures nor receive homages. Anselm was sympathetic to the king’s position, for he agreed to write to Pope Paschal requesting that the decrees be varied, to change them back to the kingdom’s former practices.⁴⁶ Both sides sent envoys to Paschal, and sat back to await his reply.

William of Malmesbury tells us that on Robert Curthose’s return to Normandy in September 1100 “nearly all” the English magnates “threw over the homage they had pledged to the king,” some for no reason, others on slight and trumped up excuses.⁴⁷ Curthose sent a complaint to Pope Paschal that Henry had illegally seized the throne.⁴⁸ Then, in early February 1101, Ranulf Flambard escaped from the White Tower in London, where Henry had imprisoned him.⁴⁹ Joining Curthose’s party, he seems to have mobilized the Norman forces for an invasion of England, for he was well aware of Henry’s defensive arrangements, having observed them from his captivity. In March, Henry renewed a treaty with Robert II count of Flanders to secure his aid with one thousand knights.⁵⁰ Eadmer reports that Henry requested his magnates to renew their oaths of fidelity, and with Anselm’s help, he renewed his coronation promises to rule with just and righteous laws.⁵¹ This renewal of the Coronation Charter recalls William Rufus’s reissue of his own coronation promises on the eve of Anselm’s first investiture, in the midst of a similar rebellion. Henry now sent letters throughout England requiring an oath to defend the land against all men from

⁴⁴ Eadmer, HN, 120.

⁴⁵ The archbishop of York could crown him if the Canterbury primate were dead and the office yet unfilled.

⁴⁶ Eadmer, HN, 120–121; 131; Anselm, Ep. 217, in Part II, 5c.

⁴⁷ GR, 1:716–717.

⁴⁸ OV, 5:300, 306–308.

⁴⁹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* 1101 for the date; OV, 5:312; See Hollister, *Henry I*, 133–134 for a vivid and amusing account of Ranulf’s escape.

⁵⁰ Hollister, *Henry I*, 135.

⁵¹ Eadmer, HN, 126.

all of the king's tenants-in-chief, who were to take the same oath from their own tenants, and summoning them to arms.⁵²

No complete record of the immediate subsequent events at court up to Anselm's second exile survives except Eadmer's account, repeated with some abbreviation and augmentation by William of Malmesbury, which I will now follow at some length. This account is substantiated in part by some of Anselm's letters, and it is important because it shows how Anselm and Henry and their supporters interacted, and the tactics both sides used. Eadmer substantiated many of his assertions with actual letters and documents from all participants, and understanding this environment and its context will allow us later to reconstruct subsequent maneuverings and manipulations between Henry's and Anselm's parties.

In August 1101, William of Malmesbury tells us, Duke Robert landed at Portsmouth, rapidly deploying his forces, while the leaders of Henry's forces deserted, the forces themselves holding together for Henry. The support of Anselm and his fellow bishops, and of all the English, was a tower of strength.⁵³ Anselm, Eadmer tells us, "loyally supporting the king, camped with his own men in the field." "The chief personages of the kingdom ... at once prepared to desert the king and join Robert." Anselm did not want to accuse anyone openly of treason, but did not dare to keep silent. The king could not believe or trust anyone but Anselm, and kept bringing to Anselm "those princes of whom he was most afraid ... would desert him," for Anselm to talk them out of it. In return, Henry promised solemnly to Anselm "that he would leave to him all rights of administering the whole Christian Church in England, and would always obey the decrees and commands of the apostolic see. Under these circumstances, Anselm assembled all the Princes" and addressed both them and the whole army, impressing upon them how accursed in the sight of God they would be if they betrayed their faith to the king. He was so persuasive that they scorned to save their own lives, choosing to meet death rather than be false to Henry. "It may be said without fear of contradiction," Eadmer says, that "if it had not been for the intervention of Anselm's loyalty and devotion, King Henry would at that time have lost the English throne."⁵⁴ Thus sovereignty to get Anselm's help. Recall, however, that Robert of Meulan, the king's chief advisor, counseled Henry to

⁵² Hollister, *Henry I*, 136–137.

⁵³ GR, 1:716–717.

⁵⁴ Eadmer, HN, 127. Cf. GP, 1:170–171, saying the king let Anselm into all his secrets, and swore to pass good laws. Knowing what the king wanted, Anselm lectured the magnates Henry brought to him on fidelity and treachery. Anselm could tell which ones were traitors by observing their body language. At Anselm's speech from a high place to the assembled troops, they were roused as though from a clarion call.

soothe his rebellious followers with promises—even giving away London and York—if this was necessary to win their loyalty. These promises could be taken back later, when the victory had been won. It was just then, in the Crisis of 1101, that Robert gave Henry this advice.⁵⁵ Loyalloy, Anselm threatened Robert Curthose with excommunication if he did not give up the invasion, so the duke agreed to make peace without a battle.⁵⁶

But now the messengers returned from Rome, with a letter from Paschal to Henry, denying his and Anselm's request that the investiture and homage decrees be relaxed for England. Henry summoned Anselm to his court and demanded that he swear homage to him as lord, and consecrate whatever clerics Henry invested, or leave the kingdom. The king was not willing to lose the usages of his predecessors, or to tolerate anyone in his kingdom who was not his man. Clearly the king had gone back on his oath to Anselm. Anselm retreated with a heavy heart, but soon messengers came from the king with another offer. Another truce should be called, and more distinguished envoys be sent by both sides to explain verbally to the pope that "either he must withdraw his prohibition" or Anselm and his men would be driven from England and the pope himself would lose the submission of the kingdom. Anselm agreed, and sent Baldwin of Bec and Alexander of Canterbury, while Henry sent Gerard bishop of Hereford, now archbishop of York, Herbert bishop of Thetford, and Robert bishop of Chester. Clearly Anselm was not wedded to the papal reform objectives of banning homage and investiture. Far more important to him was Canterbury's right to co-rule with the king and the "due order" of England.⁵⁷

Anselm used this time of interlude between Henry's defense of his throne against Robert Curthose and the return of the legates both had sent to Rome to continue composing his treatise against the Greeks, *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, which we have discussed above. Sharpe surmises that Anselm finished it in 1101,⁵⁸ and at about the same time writing two letters, *Epistola de sacrificio azimo et fermentatis* (Ep. 415), and *Epistola de sacramentis ecclesiae* (Ep. 417). The first of these letters circulated with *De processione Spiritus Sancti*,⁵⁹ and both were addressed to Walram bishop of Naumburg. Walram had asked Anselm to be instructed on four differences between Greeks and Latins: on their different ways of administering sacraments; on the use of different kinds of bread in the Eucharist; on the different kinds of blessing of bread and wine; and on whether

⁵⁵ OV, 5:316.

⁵⁶ Eadmer, HN, 128.

⁵⁷ See Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan* for this argument.

⁵⁸ Sharpe, "Anselm as Author," 51.

⁵⁹ Sharpe, "Anselm as Author," 53.

the chalice ought to be covered during Mass.⁶⁰ Anselm answered his first question by sending him *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, and writing Ep. 415 to explain the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist. He also explained the way in which marital impediments differed between the Greeks and the Latins.⁶¹ In Ep. 417, Anselm congratulates Walram because he has left the imperial papal party and now supported the reform papacy and its decrees on lay investiture and homage. He then discusses briefly Walram's questions on the sacraments.⁶² It is quite likely that Anselm filled the brief time he had of leisure while his and Henry's envoys traveled to Rome and back.

Upon their presentation of Anselm's and Henry's request to Paschal in Rome to temper the papal bans for England, Paschal adamantly refused, congratulating Henry that his throne was preserved (by God, of course, not mentioning Anselm's role), and that he had "departed from the impiety of" his brother, which impiety, "as you see, has been terribly punished by the judgment of God." Henry had made amends, restoring its rights to the church, and Paschal wrote with confidence that the king would now show the same wisdom in refraining from investitures. To Anselm, Paschal wrote congratulating him for, under Rufus, "turning away from the hateful acts of a wicked king" to choose exile, and reminding him that "the Almighty Lord did terribly execute His judgment upon that wicked king," so that Anselm had been recalled to England and restored to that see "set among the barbarians." After setting out the reasons why secular princes "must be altogether excluded from ecclesiastical elections," Paschal rewarded Anselm with this grant: "That primacy we do indeed confirm to you ... in as full and undiminished measure as it is known to have been held by your predecessors and to you personally we grant this additional privilege that ... you are to be subject only to our judgment and not at any time to that of any legate."⁶³ Anselm had won the independence from papal legates he desired.

When the envoys returned to England, Anselm's letter from Paschal was broadcast widely, while Henry kept his letter secret, and his envoys noised it about that Paschal had verbally told them that if Henry invested clerics, if he were to be a good prince in other respects, Paschal would not punish him; but the pope did not wish to put this in writing for fear other princes would claim the same right. Henry's envoys, the bishops, declared that Paschal had treated them one way when Anselm's envoys were present, and another way when they were alone with him. Baldwin of Bec, enraged at their "scandalous duplicity," branded the bishops as liars and breachers of oaths. The ensuing argument is interesting:

⁶⁰ Anselm, Ep. 416.

⁶¹ Anselm, Ep. 415.

⁶² Anselm, Ep. 417.

⁶³ Eadmer, HN, 131–137.

one side discounted “mere words” against a written document authenticated by the pope’s seal and the words of monks; the other side said three bishops should be believed over a mere sheepskin marked with black ink and weighted with a little lump of lead; and over the evidence of “monklings” who lost any right to give evidence in a secular matter when they had renounced the world. This is a rather sophisticated and almost scholastic debate, suggesting the learnedness of both sides. Baldwin was livid, exclaiming that this was not a secular matter. The other side—the king’s side—replied that they did not accept the evidence of monks against bishops, whose evidence was of greater value—nor would they believe a mere sheepskin. “Alas then!” Baldwin replied, “Are not the gospels themselves written upon sheepskins? What deceitful quibbling is shown in this!”⁶⁴ Anselm, hating to call the bishops liars, or to doubt the authenticity of the papal letter, did not know what to do. Henry at once demanded Anselm’s homage and consecration of the bishops he intended to invest. Henry then invested two bishops, his chancellor Roger to Salisbury, and his larderer Roger to Hereford.

While Henry thus seemed triumphant—and Eadmer says he was, “as though the desired right of investiture had already been granted him,” curiously Anselm now presided over a great general council of the bishops and abbots of the whole kingdom, at the church of St. Peter in London. Eadmer quotes in entirety the transactions of this council, he says, written by Anselm himself. In the transactions, Anselm lists all the bishops and abbots, stating clearly that the council was held with King Henry’s approval, and that at Archbishop Anselm’s request “there were present at this assembly the leading men of the kingdom so that whatever was decreed on the authority of that council should be seen as ratified by the approval ... of each of these estates of the realm.” He had specified the king, the clergy, and the people—or at least the barons. And Anselm notes that such a synod had not been held for many years. In general, the council legislated against simony, married priests, clerical garb, interestingly that abbots are not to create knights, monks are not to hold manors let out at rent, monks are not to receive churches except at the hands of bishops, men are to cut their long hair to uncover their ears and eyes, no one, without a bishop’s sanction, can attach sanctity to dead bodies or to wells or other things, and against sodomy.⁶⁵ Essentially the Reform principles against simony and clerical marriage were reinforced, while a firmer line of separation between the clerics and lay roles was drawn. Moreover, such additional prohibitions as probably effeminate hairstyles and the random identification of saints without clerical authority, as well as

⁶⁴ Eadmer, HN, 137–138.

⁶⁵ For the full text, see Eadmer, HN, 141–144.

the familiar sodomy synonymous with heresy—all suggestive of correcting the “barbarity” of the English—were enacted. Henry had granted Anselm his Council, so long wished for under William Rufus, and Anselm seems to have been cooperating with the king, at least for the moment, in return.

Bishop-elect Roger of Hereford almost immediately died, first having asked Anselm to instruct the bishop of London and the bishop of Rochester to consecrate him. Anselm laughed in astonishment at his foolishness. Since Anselm refused to consecrate any new bishops, Henry arranged for Gerard archbishop of York to do so. In a piece of blatant theatricality, Reinelm, appointed in the deceased Roger’s place to Hereford, returned his staff and ring to the king, regretting that he had wrongly accepted them; Henry exiled him from his favor and his court. When Gerard archbishop of York began the ceremony to consecrate the other two, William of Winchester and Roger of Salisbury, William “drew back in horror and chose to suffer the confiscation of all he possessed.” The bishops broke off the ceremony, and a great shout arose from all of the observing crowd gathered to see the outcome of the matter. William was despoiled of all his property and driven out of the kingdom.⁶⁶ Apparently Anselm stood aside and let his bishops and bishops-elect make the protest against the royal violation of the papal bans against homage and lay investiture.

I have recounted these royal and episcopal maneuverings as related by Eadmer at some length because, first, often historians have passed over them as inconsequential squabbles; and secondly, because they are important to show the character of how the disputes between Anselm and Henry were carried out. At this time, such disputes took the form of rather theatrical set-pieces acted out at court, apparently engaged in not only by Anselm and Henry, but by their surrogates, various monks and bishops, and even the observing people of England. Clearly Henry allowed Anselm to hold the Council of 1102 as a sop to his archbishop, in hopes that if Henry cooperated with Anselm, Anselm would cooperate with the king. Eadmer records no formal agreement between them to hold the council, but under Rufus such a council had been one of Anselm’s most fervent desires. When Anselm would not budge, even after this royal concession, while they awaited the return of Anselm’s messengers from Rome to clarify the dispute over the papal letters, Henry tried having Gerard archbishop of York perform the ceremonies so that Anselm’s hands would remain clean. He was foiled by Anselm’s followers, the bishops-elect themselves, who apparently were swayed by Anselm’s case.

⁶⁶ Eadmer, HN, 145–146.

Once Anselm's messengers returned, bearing a papal letter, Henry refused to allow Anselm either to open it or to read it, although Anselm thought that "it may be found to contain something which would permit me to accede to your wishes." Henry replied that he would no longer put up with such evasions: "What have I to do with the Pope over things that are mine? If anyone wishes to rob me of them, he is my enemy; of that no one who loves me can have the slightest doubt." Anselm swore he did not wish to take anything from Henry that was his—but not even to save his life would he disobey what had been banned at the Council of Rome at which he was present, unless the same see gave him absolution from their observance. The bitter exchanges went on and on, so that even the princes themselves were moved to tears. Henry at one point threatened to either deprive Anselm of one of his limbs, or drive him into exile. But now Henry adopted a conciliatory tone, and begged Anselm himself to go to Rome to secure the rights enjoyed by Henry's predecessors, without which the king would "be held of less account than they." Anselm asked to defer his decision until Easter, when he could consult the assembled nobility of the kingdom.

At the Easter court, all—presumably both barons and clerics—urged Anselm to go to Rome to argue on behalf of the king at the papal court. The king, they vowed, would send his representatives with Anselm to help. Anselm prepared to leave, while the papal letter to him remained unopened. It gradually dawned upon some at court that the king refused to allow the letter to be opened because he already knew what was in it, told by one of those Anselm had sent to Rome. Anselm himself did not open it because if he broke the seal, the king could challenge its authenticity. Moreover, he feared what it said—that some in England, very important people, might be excommunicated.⁶⁷ In this strange reversal of Anselm's departure for Rome in 1097 under William Rufus, Anselm once more set out for Rome through Wissant and Bec, this time, so Eadmer points out, "possessed of the king's peace and with all his own property intact." It was April 27, 1103.⁶⁸ Only when he arrived at Bec did he open Paschal's letter. The pope remained firm in his resolve to ban homage and lay investiture—and excommunicated some in England.

In Rome, despite William of Warelwast's pleas on the king's behalf, Paschal remained unmoved. As Anselm set out to return to England, the king's envoy William Warelwast informed him that if he would not agree to abide by the king's customary prerogatives of receiving clerical homage and investing clerics, Anselm could not return to England. So Anselm's second exile began—and with it began a delicate verbal duel of propaganda, set forth on both Anselm's and

⁶⁷ Eadmer, HN, 146–149; cf. GP, 1:172–179.

⁶⁸ Eadmer, HN, 149.

Henry's parts, largely surviving in a massive correspondence⁶⁹ between the two combatants, in which were involved the queen—quite heavily; Pope Paschal; many of England's clerics like Gundulf bishop of Rochester, who administered Canterbury and Anselm's estates in his absence; and many of the king's supporters like Gerard archbishop of York. Both Eadmer and William of Malmesbury gloss over the delicate duel between the two parties, but as I have reconstructed it at length elsewhere,⁷⁰ I will summarize it here, with relevant examples.

First, although Henry himself had forbidden Anselm's return to England, he received a letter from Paschal almost immediately asking Henry to consider "whether it is to your credit or discredit that the most learned and religious of all the English bishops, Anselm ... is afraid to stay at your side or live in your kingdom. Those who had up to now heard such good things of you, what will they now think of you, what will they say, when this is published abroad?"⁷¹ Paschal had "spun" Henry's prohibition to claim that it was Anselm who refused to be at Henry's side. Anselm then wrote a full account of the events in Rome from his perspective: he had loyally presented the royal case to Paschal, but Paschal had to follow the decrees of his predecessors in banning homage and investiture—just as Henry wished to follow the customs of his predecessors, the terms under which Henry required Anselm to return to England to be with the king as Lanfranc had been with William I. Anselm expressed his great love for Henry and his willingness to serve the king faithfully. He is a faithful man completely at the king's mercy. Henry, whose decision it was that Anselm be banned from England, is to blame for "any detriment to human souls" resulting from Henry's stance, which, Anselm says, will not be the archbishop's fault.⁷² Then Anselm sent copies of this letter to Gundulf of Rochester and Ernulf prior of Canterbury with instructions to keep it secret for the moment, then to publicize it. After he had shown the letter to William Warelwast, Gundulf was

⁶⁹ William of Malmesbury even remarks on the "enormous corpus" of letters involved, for which he refers the reader to Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*. But even Eadmer barely scratched the surface of the letters involved. For the entire corpus of letters in Anselm's correspondence in Henry's reign, see Vaughn, *St. Anselm and the Handmaidens of God*, 54–57—some 263 letters in the Schmitt collection for the ten years of Anselm's pontificate under Henry, more than half Anselm's total correspondence. Of these, only thirty-three are not in Lambeth 59, L. Compare the reign of William Rufus, pp. 51–52, with only sixty-three letters in the Schmitt collection in the seven years of Anselm's pontificate under Rufus, thirty-two—more than half—of which are not in Lambeth 59, L.

⁷⁰ Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 265–308.

⁷¹ Anselm, Ep. 305. In his rendition of this letter, Eadmer substitutes Gallicanorum for Anglorum, inflating Paschal's praise: HN, 156.

⁷² Anselm, Ep. 308.

to give the original to the king. Then, Gundulf was to make the letter known to “the bishops and other persons.”⁷³

The king at once issued counterpropaganda, portraying Henry as a godly king protecting his ancestral customs, and Anselm as a primate unjustly seeking to deprive him of them. Henry was grieved that Anselm would not be with him as his predecessor Lanfranc had been with his father the Conqueror for many years. If only Anselm would emulate Lanfranc, Henry would grant him every honor and dignity and friendship that his father had given to Anselm’s predecessor. But because Anselm declined to resume his lordship over the Canterbury lands, Henry unwillingly and regretfully took them over. Henry “would wish to have no mortal man with me in my kingdom more willingly than you.”⁷⁴ Queen Edith-Matilda added her plea for Anselm’s return, begging him to soften his iron soul, eschew no longer the ways of his archiepiscopal predecessors, and stop challenging the royal customs, so crucial to the king’s majesty.⁷⁵

Henry’s righteous royal self-portrait persuaded even the Canterbury monks, for Ordwi wrote that Anselm was being attacked by false accounts that he had forbidden the king’s ancestral right to grant investitures, and permitting wicked clerks and laymen to ravage England’s churches.⁷⁶ Even Prior Ernulf thought Anselm had abandoned Canterbury.⁷⁷ Anselm had to explain to both the larger issues involved: the necessity of Anselm’s obedience to the papacy, because he had heard Pope Urban’s prohibitions of homage and investiture with his own ears; and the attendant excommunicated persons who had sworn homage and received investiture in England with whom he could not associate if he were present—and thus could not attend crown-wearing ceremonies. Consequently, the king might well choose to be crowned by another prelate, creating the impression, with Anselm in the kingdom, that he was condoning this crucial Canterbury prerogative to another church, and weakening the dignity of Canterbury⁷⁸—which Anselm could never allow.

Anselm replied with a carefully worded response to Henry, thanking the king for his kindness and goodwill, which he reciprocated: “With no other king or prince on earth would I so willingly live, no other so willingly serve.” Nevertheless,

⁷³ Anselm, Ep. 306.

⁷⁴ Anselm, Ep. 318.

⁷⁵ Anselm, Ep. 317. She expresses her longing to see him and her enduring love for Anselm, for whom she would give up her royal dignity and crown, trample on her purple and satin garments, and rush to him—her soul, her joy, her refuge.

⁷⁶ Anselm, Ep. 327.

⁷⁷ Anselm, Ep. 310, omitted from Lambeth 59 L, but included in Eadmer’s *Historia Novorum*, HN, 160–162.

⁷⁸ Anselm, Epp. 311, 327, 349.

he had never sworn to follow any law or customs of Henry's father or Lanfranc, but only the law of God, and he would only return—although very willingly—if Henry permitted him to live according to this law and his archiepiscopal customs, with the Canterbury lands fully restored. If Henry granted investitures and held the Canterbury lands, he would be directly disobedient to God's will. Above all others, the king must obey God's law, nor does anyone disregard it at greater peril. Then he offers Henry a way out, suggesting that Henry has merely been delaying the inevitable.⁷⁹ Concurrently Anselm wrote to Gundulf with instructions to press the king for his reply, and if the king refused to restore the Canterbury lands, to inform him that Anselm would thence regard himself as a bishop disseized without legal judgment.⁸⁰ This was no idle threat, for even under Rufus Anselm had been granted a hearing and a formal trial before the king, bishops, and barons before Rufus seized his lands and sent him into exile. Henry had not allowed Anselm the opportunity to defend himself at court, according to the feudal custom of judgment by the king's magnates and prelates. Even Ranulf Flambard, Robert of Bellême—notorious traitors—and William of Mortain had been accorded this right.⁸¹ Soon Queen Edith-Matilda wrote to tell Anselm Henry had restored some of his revenues and promised to return the rest at some unspecified future date, and implored Anselm to grant the king “the sweetness of his love” in return, eschewing “the rancor of human bitterness, which is so unlike you.”⁸² Anselm replied lovingly that he was grateful for the queen's intercession, but Henry must restore all the properties if he wished to be reconciled to God, and denied rancor toward anyone—but for the future, ominously, he would commit himself to the disposition of God.⁸³

Henry replied by interpreting Anselm's statement that he had never sworn to follow the customs of William I and Lanfranc, as Anselm's boast that he himself had always obeyed God, while King William I and Lanfranc “had lived wickedly outside God's law.”⁸⁴ Infuriated, Anselm complained to the queen that some unnamed advisor had excited the king against him “with spiteful and deceitful intention by a wrongful interpretation,”⁸⁵ and to Gundulf as well.⁸⁶ What we have recounted here is a kind of scholastic debate between Anselm and Henry, each taking opposing positions of theoretical interpretation, and each using these

⁷⁹ Anselm, Ep. 319.

⁸⁰ Anselm, Ep. 316.

⁸¹ See Anselm, Ep. 214; OV, 6:12, 6:20; and GR, 1:718–725.

⁸² Anselm, Ep. 320.

⁸³ Anselm, Ep. 321.

⁸⁴ Anselm, Ep. 330.

⁸⁵ Anselm, Ep. 329. For other allusions to evil counselors—a topos—see Epp. 228, 246, 265.

⁸⁶ Anselm, Ep. 330.

stances to try to sway the observing public to his side. By now it was September 1104, and Anselm was growing impatient with Henry's interminable delays and unfulfilled promises—and with good reason.

But let us pause a moment to consider Anselm's literary activity. While Richard Sharpe remarked, as we have seen, that Anselm had used his first exile for literary work, he only composed letters on ecclesiastical business during his second exile. But he engaged in related activities by disseminating copies of his works. By 1104, Sharpe reports, he now regarded his prayers and meditations as complete, with the copy he sent to Matilda of Tuscany, and composed a preface to this collection reusing the language of his letter to Matilda. Anselm was shaping his own work, and wanted his own work to be copied accurately. He was concerned with chapter headings and titles, which were chosen with care. "In continuing to write circumstantial prefaces," he shaped his own literary biography.⁸⁷ Such was the literary activity Anselm engaged in during his second exile, in addition to carrying on his vast correspondence, while Henry delayed and delayed, making promise after promise—with another goal in mind.

For even before autumn 1104, Henry was launching a large-scale campaign to conquer Normandy and reunite it with his kingdom, as it had been under William the Conqueror. In the summer of 1104 Henry had crossed to Normandy, where he was welcomed by Robert of Meulan, sent to prepare the way, and many other Norman landholders whom Count Robert had won over to the king's cause the previous year, including not only Robert of Meulan, but also Rotrou count of Perche, Eustace of Breteuil, Ralph of Tosny, and Amaury de Montfort, suggesting that Robert of Meulan was also winning influence at the courts of Anjou and France in his evident intention of conquering Normandy.⁸⁸ Moreover, men such as Stephen count of Aumale, Robert FitzHamon, Robert of Montfort-sur-Risle, Ralph of Mortemer, and Richard earl of Chester now joined the king's support. Orderic states that these Normans "held great estates from [Henry] in England, had already gone over to his side in Normandy with their vassals, and were ready and eager to fight with him against all the world."⁸⁹ Henry now made arrangements with counts Elias of Maine and Alan Fergant of Brittany, Geoffrey Martel of Anjou and earlier had renewed his treaty with Robert count of Flanders, and obtained the assurance of the French king that he would not oppose his campaign in Normandy.⁹⁰

Many of these alliances had been made well before Anselm entered exile, and the archbishop was well aware of them. His impatience in September 1104

⁸⁷ Sharpe, "Anselm as Author," 56, 58–60.

⁸⁸ See Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 250–252.

⁸⁹ OV, 6:56; cf. OV, 6:14–36.

⁹⁰ Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 253.

surely stemmed from his careful observation of Henry's military operations in Normandy. For Anselm, as we have seen, took on the defense of Kent and southeastern England under William Rufus in 1095, and camped in the field with his own troops to help defend Henry from Curthose's invasion of 1101. The archbishop was no stranger to military affairs, and Gundulf was keeping him informed of such developments at Henry's court, which he says he knew about from "rumors flying in many directions."⁹¹ Thus he knew that Henry was portraying his campaign to conquer Normandy as a rescue mission for the Norman churches. Orderic says that Henry went to Normandy "bombarded with the pleas of many Normans" "imploing him with tears to succour the suffering church of God and the unhappy land." He was "importuned by many distinguished men from both clergy and laity to visit his paternal inheritance which was being tragically laid waste."⁹² On his arrival in Normandy in the summer of 1104, Henry summoned Curthose and accused him of breaking the treaty of 1101 in various ways. Curthose granted Henry lordship over William count of Evreux, who chose his allegiance to Henry as his lawful lord over his allegiance to Curthose, explicitly choosing between his two lords. Orderic describes Curthose's meeting with Henry as something of a royal tribunal judging the wayward duke, who had failed to protect the Norman people and church.⁹³

Sunk in lethargy, he had abandoned all Normandy to thieves and robbers and other evil-doers, and had fecklessly left it to the mercy of the shameless scoundrels by whom he was dominated; that he was a mere figure-head in the seat of prince and pastor, for he did not use the office of governor to provide for the Church of God and the helpless people, but abandoned them to their unprincipled persecutors like sheep left behind to be devoured by wolves.⁹⁴

When Henry arrived in Normandy during the last week of Lent, 1104, he celebrated Easter at Carentan, where Bishop Serlo of Séez made this impassioned public plea:

... all Normandy, dominated by Godless bandits, is without a true ruler ... the church of God is ... turned into a communal storeroom for lack of a just protector ... the church has become the refuge of the masses ... Rise up boldly in the name

⁹¹ Anselm, *Epp.* 357; cf. 330, 337, 331, 358–360.

⁹² *OV*, 6:56. Cf. 60, The tearful laments of unhappy Normandy were carried across the sea, and the king of England was summoned by the pleas of the afflicted.

⁹³ *OV*, 6:56–58.

⁹⁴ *OV*, 6:56.

of God, win the heritage of your fathers and the sword of justice, and rescue your ancestral land and the people of God from the hands of reprobates⁹⁵

After consulting his magnates, Henry replied, presumably to the masses assembled there, “I will rise up and work for peace in the name of the Lord, and will devote my utmost endeavors to procure, with your help, the tranquility of the Church of God.” And the scene concluded with Henry, Robert of Meulan, and all their men submitting to Serlo to cut off their long hair. It was surely this public theatricality that Anselm had heard about, and that made him spring into action in September 1104.

Anselm sent Baldwin of Bec to Rome to inform the pope of Normandy’s situation and the urgent need for countermeasures, prudently leaving the details for Baldwin to transmit verbally.⁹⁶ Concurrently he wrote to the papal chancellor John of Gaeta and John bishop of Tusculum, once Anselm’s student at Bec, imploring their support.⁹⁷ A letter of support soon arrived from Anselm’s friend Matilda of Tuscany,⁹⁸ surely in response to Anselm’s now lost letter to her. In December, Paschal sent a letter of warning to Henry, saying that his case with Anselm would be heard in the Lenten synod of 1105.⁹⁹ A second, stronger letter followed, calling itself a “third warning” that unless Henry cease investing prelates and readmit Anselm, he and his counsellors would be “struck with the sword of anathema.”¹⁰⁰ At the same time, Paschal sent a letter threatening to excommunicate Henry’s chief advisor Robert of Meulan unless he stopped giving Henry bad advice to “fight the Roman Church.”¹⁰¹ Paschal also wrote to the queen, urging her to counsel the king not to listen to depraved counselors, on pain of the king’s and such counsellors’ anathema.¹⁰² Paschal was suddenly impelled to move swiftly; surely Baldwin’s autumn 1104 visit provided the impetus.

But Henry was moving swiftly too. On February 13, 1105, Henry was on his way to Normandy, with a great number of his magnates with him. As we mentioned above, he landed at Barfleur, proceeding to Carentan where he heard Serlo’s Easter sermon. The ceremony ended with Henry and Robert Count of Meulan leading all the royal followers to Bishop Serlo, who cut off their long

⁹⁵ OV, 6:62.

⁹⁶ Anselm, Ep. 338.

⁹⁷ Anselm, Ep. 339.

⁹⁸ Anselm, Ep. 350.

⁹⁹ Anselm, Ep. 348; cf. 349.

¹⁰⁰ Anselm, Ep. 351.

¹⁰¹ Anselm, Ep. 361, clearly belonging before Ep. 353, which actually excommunicates Robert of Meulan.

¹⁰² Anselm, Ep. 352.

hair¹⁰³—as we have seen, a theatrical public display of Henry’s role as God’s agent in the deliverance of a tormented Normandy.

In March, Paschal had excommunicated Henry’s chief advisor Robert of Meulan, along with other unnamed advisors and all prelates whom the king had invested, but the king’s sentence was postponed until Easter, when the king’s messengers were scheduled to arrive in Rome.¹⁰⁴ But Henry hardly could have had time to respond to any of Paschal’s three warnings. Indeed, he was in the midst of a highly successful campaign to conquer Normandy. Eadmer reports that “almost all the principal Normans” deserted Curthose and “came rushing after the king’s gold and silver and delivered towns, cities, and castles to him.”¹⁰⁵ Paschal had done too little, too late. On seeing the papal excommunication of Robert of Meulan, Eadmer relates, Anselm “saw the uselessness of waiting longer ... for any help from Rome ... Further, he had for the third time written to the king of the English asking for the return of his property.”¹⁰⁶ Anselm left Lyon, headed for Normandy with the announced purpose of personally excommunicating the king. “Anselm was about to sabotage Henry’s carefully cultivated public image as savior of the Norman churches and halt his campaign to conquer Normandy.”¹⁰⁷

On his northward journey, Anselm was met at La Charité-sur-Loire, a Cluniac priory, by messengers from Henry’s favorite sister Adela countess of Blois, saying Adela was gravely ill and needed Anselm’s consolations. But on his arrival at Blois, he found the countess all but recovered;¹⁰⁸ nevertheless he stayed on several weeks. For Adela had informed her brother that Anselm meant to excommunicate him, and Henry now sent word that he would make important concessions if Anselm would meet him at L’Aigle. As Anselm had journeyed northward, Henry’s campaign had begun breaking down. His triumphant army was stopped in its tracks at the castle of Falaise, where Elias count of Maine

¹⁰³ OV, 6:60–66.

¹⁰⁴ Anselm, Ep. 353.

¹⁰⁵ Eadmer, HN, 165.

¹⁰⁶ Eadmer, HN, 163–164. Thus, in Eadmer’s eyes, Anselm was functioning as a Pope of another world, issuing his own three warnings. Strangely, William of Malmesbury says that Paschal sent a letter to Henry encouraging him to conquer Normandy. GR, 1:722–723. Unless William is misinterpreting Paschal’s November 23 letter, wishing Henry health, honor, and victory, Ep. 348, this letter is now lost.

¹⁰⁷ Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 289.

¹⁰⁸ Eadmer, HN, 164. For other examples of such diplomatic illness see HN, 27–29, on Hugh earl of Chester; 181–182, on Anselm; and OV, 4:184, on Robert Curthose. Also see above, on William Rufus.

withdrew from the king's army.¹⁰⁹ Eadmer says Anselm's threat had caused many to turn against Henry.¹¹⁰

Anselm's letter to Hugh of Lyons shows that Henry agreed at L'Aigle to relinquish lay investiture if he could retain the homage of churchmen.¹¹¹ "The King, though he will suffer himself, so I hope, to submit to the apostolic decrees on ecclesiastical investitures, nevertheless does not yet wish, he says, to relinquish the homage of prelates." This compromise might work, as Paschal seems to have quietly dropped the clerical homage ban, suggested by the absence of such bans in surviving legislation of contemporary papal synods.¹¹² Henry reinstated Anselm in his episcopate, which Anselm accepted, and both sides dispatched messengers to Rome. Anselm, by his daring diplomacy, had won a major victory for the papacy, for Henry had been adamantly opposed to giving up investitures. But Anselm was very aware that it was not his role to negotiate that sort of compromise—a role which belonged only to the pope. As he carefully wrote to Paschal,

I had not understood ... that I ought to prohibit his legation or to reject my revestiture. What truly he might concede about the aforesaid matter, or what he asks, your sanctity will know through the same legate. And since the outcome of the entire case depends upon your judgment, I sent our legate at the same time, so that I may know how it is agreed between you and the king, and what your order commands me to do.¹¹³

In Anselm's view of the right order of the world, the decision was entirely Paschal's, and Anselm was merely a bystander. The agreement must be made between the pope and the king, and no hint that events had occurred otherwise must appear in the Canterbury collection of Anselm's letters, as he wrote to Thidric, the scribe collecting them at Anselm's direction, not to preserve certain letters because "I do not think it useful that they be preserved."¹¹⁴

But Henry was moving ahead with his plan to conquer Normandy, and grew impatient with Paschal's delay in ratifying the agreement he and Anselm had made. He had been forced to negotiate with his back to the wall, for

¹⁰⁹ OV, 6:78. See Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 289, for Anselm's ties to Elias.

¹¹⁰ Eadmer, HN, 166.

¹¹¹ Anselm, Ep. 389.

¹¹² See Ute-Renate Blumenthal, "Some Notes on Papal Politics at Guastella, 1106," *Studia Gratiana* 19 (1976), 67–68. See Anselm, Ep. 369, Part II, 5d, below, for Anselm's confirmation to Robert of Meulan of the settlement at L'Aigle.

¹¹³ Anselm, Ep. 388.

¹¹⁴ Anselm, Ep. 379.

excommunication would have destroyed his campaign to “save the Norman churches” by conquering Normandy. A verbal agreement with Anselm alone could be abrogated if he could just conquer Normandy before Paschal ratified his agreement. Henry now turned to one of his favorite tactics—delay. He made one excuse after another to postpone sending his own messengers to Paschal. Meanwhile, Anselm settled down at Bec. Beginning with Henry’s return to England in August 1105, his propaganda campaign intensified. Henry now marshalled the curialist bishops to lobby Anselm to return to England to save the English church from the ruinous state his absence had caused. Ernulf prior of Canterbury and Anselm’s old enemy Gerard archbishop of York, among others, bombarded Anselm with pleas to return.¹¹⁵ If Henry could induce Anselm to return to England without the papal ratification, he could conquer Normandy and then ignore the pope once again. But Anselm remained at Bec, pressing Henry to send the messengers to Rome. Henry managed to delay until autumn, when he at last sent William Warelwast to Paschal at the end of September.¹¹⁶ Even then, the messengers delayed along the way. Finally Anselm wrote to Henry that he wanted to send his own envoys before Christmas. It was only on Anselm’s threat to Henry that he feared the king “was provoking God’s anger against himself and against those on whose advice he is acting” because “some people are thinking and saying that the king is not very anxious to hasten my return to England, nor that the church of God, which God has entrusted to his guardianship ... should be comforted by that pastor’s return and presence with her ...”¹¹⁷—a clear threat of excommunication—that the king finally sent his envoys in December.

Now Henry was preparing for the coming spring campaign in Normandy, inflicting heavy taxes on England, including a tax on married clergy on the pretext of enforcing the celibacy decrees of the Council of 1102. Anselm took the lead in denouncing these taxes, now broadened to a tax on all churches.¹¹⁸ Anselm then attempted to broker a peace between Henry and Curthose, who visited England in February seeking reconciliation at Anselm’s suggestion,¹¹⁹ implying that Anselm could still revert to the duke’s side against the king. Finally in the spring of 1106 the envoys returned with Paschal’s endorsement of the L’Aigle compromise.¹²⁰ The pope wrote according to Anselm’s view of right

¹¹⁵ Anselm, Epp. 363, 364, 365, 368, 373, 386.

¹¹⁶ Anselm, Ep. 370; cf. Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 394–396.

¹¹⁷ Anselm, Ep. 369.

¹¹⁸ Anselm, Epp. 391, 393; see *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* AD 1105 for the taxes, Eadmer, HN, 171–175 for Anselm’s reactions.

¹¹⁹ Anselm, Ep. 396.

¹²⁰ Anselm, Ep. 397.

order in the world: God alone had persuaded Henry to obey the apostolic see through Anselm's prayers; Paschal granted the concession of clerical homage to Henry as an act of selfless charity, until by God's grace the king's heart is softened by Anselm's preaching.

The investiture compromise was ratified, but issues still existed between Anselm and Henry, and Anselm and Paschal. Settling the case of his suspension of Archbishop William Bona Anima of Rouen, and another case of the improper election of Thorold bishop of Bayeux, Paschal granted to Anselm what amounted to de facto legatine powers over Normandy,¹²¹ analogous to his previously-granted legatine powers in England. William Warelwast had delivered Anselm's letter from Paschal to him at Bec, and now proceeded to England with Henry's letter from Paschal without Anselm to accompany him, despite Henry's desperate need for Anselm at his side to ratify publicly their agreement with Paschal. William Warelwast reported "that Anselm might be hindered from going to England quite as much by his affection for Bec and the brothers there as by the illness"¹²² that Anselm claimed prevented him from travelling to England. We have noticed before several cases in which a convenient illness figured in political negotiations: Anselm's visit to England to see the desperately ill Hugh earl of Chester on the eve of Anselm's election as archbishop, William Rufus's forced choice of Anselm as archbishop, Adela of Blois's plea for Anselm to come to her in Normandy, resulting in the meeting in L'Aigle. Anselm was seventy years old, but nevertheless his illness may have been exaggerated for diplomatic purposes. Whatever the case, it forced King Henry to come to him in Normandy for the final, public settlement of the Investiture Contest. Despite William Warelwast's pleas that Henry longed for his return and England was disconsolate at his absence, Anselm remained at Bec. Then William added that Henry "was fully determined to meet Anselm's wishes in whatever he should thenceforth direct" to put an end to any disagreement with Pope Paschal.¹²³ Anselm rejoiced, his health now restored, and set off for Jumièges, on his way to England—only to be struck down by illness again. He sent messengers to the king once more, who expressed his grief, and notified Anselm that he could wait for him in England no longer—that he was on his way to Normandy: "And know that if it were not that I awaited you, I would already be in Normandy I wish and order that throughout all my Norman possessions you command them like your own demesnes, and it will gladden my heart if you do so. Now await me in Normandy, for I shall go there next."¹²⁴

¹²¹ Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 299–300, OV, 5:210 and n. 4, HN, 177, 180.

¹²² Eadmer, HN, 181.

¹²³ Eadmer, HN, 181–182.

¹²⁴ Anselm, Ep. 399.

It was by then July, and the campaigning season was already far advanced. Henry could wait no longer, and met Anselm at Bec. Anselm's health had deteriorated once more, and there were rumors of his impending death that drew bishops and abbots to Bec from throughout Normandy to attend him. But Anselm recovered in time to welcome King Henry to Bec on August 13. Henry had come to Anselm's spiritual home almost as a suffragan bishop might have come to Canterbury. Bec, however, was in middle to eastern ducal territory, far from the royally controlled Cotentin, Bayeux, and Caen, in the west of Normandy. But Robert of Meulan's castles at Brionne and Pont Audemer, along with Henry's ally, Robert of Montfort-sur-Risle, would have protected Henry's entourage at Bec, where Robert of Meulan's and Robert of Montfort's nephew William of Beaumont ruled as abbot.

There is no single account of the meeting of King Henry and Archbishop Anselm at Bec. Ralph de Diceto, who is generally trustworthy, declares that the king and the archbishop met "before an assembly of distinguished men, as if at law." Henry "promised that he would not thenceforth claim any privilege for himself or his heirs with regard to ecclesiastical investitures, and that in making elections he would demand nothing more than his mere consent, just as the judgment of the holy canons lays down," effectively conceding the right to investitures in a grand public ceremony which resembled a court of law.¹²⁵ Henry issued a confirmation to Bec and Abbot William of all Bec's lands, churches, and tithes formerly granted by William I and William II.¹²⁶ According to Eadmer, the king also restored to Anselm all the churches that had been let out at rent, promising that he would take nothing from churches without a pastor. He also made concessions on the taxes he had formerly collected for his war chest. Moreover, he promised to restore to Anselm all that had been taken from the archbishopric while Anselm was in exile—and gave security for his doing so.¹²⁷

These accounts, taken together, constitute a record of a great public ecclesiastical council held in Normandy at Bec on the eve of the Battle of Tinchebrai, in which Henry won Normandy from his brother Robert Curthose. It is so unclear in the records because the official celebration of Anselm's return was effectively the triumphant English Council of London of 1106. Nevertheless, the Council of Bec of 1106 preceded the London Council, and was necessary before Henry could conquer Normandy with Anselm's blessing. Henry announced his victory at Tinchebrai to Anselm with the humble claim

¹²⁵ Ralph de Diceto, "Abbreviationes chronichorum," in *Opera Historica*, ed. William Stubbs (Rolls Series, London, 1876), 1:227.

¹²⁶ *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, 2, no. 860; see Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 304 n. 183 for the date.

¹²⁷ Eadmer, HN, 183.

that the victory was not his, but given to him by God,¹²⁸ and Anselm replied, congratulating Henry that he attributed his victory in no way to himself, but only to God.¹²⁹ Anselm and the king were at last on the same page.

Nowhere in the records is there any hint that Henry demanded homage from Anselm, nor that Anselm rendered homage to Henry, despite the papal dispensation. But Anselm himself confirmed that his dream of rule as a co-ox with the king, yoked together to pull the plow of the church through the land, in a letter to Helgot, former prior of Caen and now abbot of St. Ouen, Rouen: “And what you have heard that my lord the king committed to me his kingdom and all his possessions so that my will should be done in all things that are his, is true.”¹³⁰ Henry himself made the same concessions clear in 1108, committing his young son and his entire kingdom to Anselm’s protection.¹³¹ And finally the king wrote to Anselm in March 1109, just before Anselm’s death, that the management of affairs in England was “to be governed by your will and settled by your advice. I have made this known to our justiciars.”¹³² Thus for the last three years of his life, until his death on April 21, 1109, Anselm lived his vision for his episcopal rule of England in partnership with the king. Let us now turn to a consideration of his vision for his relationship with the pope.

¹²⁸ Anselm, Ep. 401. Part II, 5c below.

¹²⁹ Anselm, Ep. 402, Part II, 5f below.

¹³⁰ Anselm, Ep. 407.

¹³¹ Eadmer, HN, 197.

¹³² Anselm, Ep. 461.

Chapter 7

Patriarch of Another World: The Primacy at its Height, and the Problem of York

Anselm had now won almost every privilege for Canterbury that he had sought from both the king and the pope. In reality, what is called the English Investiture Contest was a three-way struggle between king, pope, and archbishop, for Anselm was just as concerned to win his rights from Pope Paschal as he was from King Henry. Anselm had a vision of the right order for England from the very beginning of his archiepiscopate,¹ based on the pattern Lanfranc had set as archbishop. Anselm wanted to rule as the king's chief advisor, his first counsellor, an equal ox drawing the plow of the Church through the land.² He also had made clear, in his treatment of the legate Walter of Albano, who had brought his pallium from Pope Urban II, that he did not recognize the authority of any papal legate in England.³ As primate, he believed that the pope should not interfere directly in England's rule, and that the archbishop of Canterbury should serve as papal legate in England. Just as both Eadmer and William of Malmesbury described Anselm being recognized by Pope Urban II as Pope of Another World,⁴ Anselm called himself Primate of All England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Adjacent Isles,⁵ according to Eadmer, and in a charter to Norwich Cathedral Priory Anselm called himself "archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of Great Britain and Ireland," and the Church of Canterbury "the first of all churches in all England."⁶ Eadmer speaks of Canterbury as "*totius Britannie mater*," and the annalist at Winchester called

¹ Recall Ep. 198, to the bishops of Ireland describing his deliberations of Due Order for England, Part II, 3e below.

² See Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 149–153.

³ See Chapter 4, above.

⁴ Eadmer, VA, 105: "Et quasi comparem velut alterius orbis apostolicum et patriarcham jure venerandum censeamus;" GP, 1:155: "Includamus," inquit, "hunc in orbe nostro quasi alterius orbis papam."

⁵ Eadmer, HN, 189.

⁶ *The Charters of Norwich Cathedral Priory*, pt. 1, no. 260.

Anselm “*Anselmus Papa*” in 1102.⁷ In the course of his struggles with King Henry, Pope Paschal successively granted to Anselm and to his successors, the primacy and the pallium.⁸ This primacy included Anselm’s jurisdiction over the see of York, which Paschal also granted to him.⁹ That Anselm sought and achieved these goals seems to be validated by John of Salisbury, who wrote a life of Anselm some fifty years later. In it, he summarizes Anselm’s achievements: “How much Paschal granted to Anselm and bestowed upon him in his allotted time is clear from many examples, for he confirmed for him the primacy of Britain, which his predecessors had held from the time of Blessed Augustine. He also personally granted this privilege: that Anselm would be exempt from the authority of all [papal] legates as long as he lived. Moreover,” John adds, he compelled Archbishop Gerard of York to profess obedience to Anselm “after his case was investigated,” following a case made and rendered in writing by Pope Alexander II “in the time of Lanfranc.”¹⁰ Thus John, entrenched in the court of Anselm’s successor Archbishop Theobald of Bec, preserved Anselm’s achievements in writing, acknowledging, we must note, their origins in Anselm’s beliefs that the deeds of St. Augustine and his monks set the laws for England. Earlier, John confirmed that Urban had welcomed Anselm to Rome with the statement that “he should rightfully be respected as some pontiff and patriarch from another part of the world.”¹¹

Anselm had achieved his highest dreams, as almost pope of another world, with the legatine powers Paschal had granted him, and the co-rule he had won from King Henry. His victory must have seemed miraculous to his contemporaries, although he attributed it all to God’s will and not his eminent political skills that we have traced. Indeed, Eadmer’s Books 1–4 of *Historia Novorum* amount to almost a guidance manual on how an ideal archbishop of Canterbury conducts his career, from the pits of adversity under an evil and malevolent king, to the heights of victory under a more malleable, but supremely capable king—perhaps even an ideal king, in his God-given intelligence, superb education, dutiful respect toward Anselm and the church, and willingness to compromise (although admittedly under duress). The fact that only one complete manuscript—Eadmer’s autograph—survives (although an abbreviated version survives at Durham), while Eadmer’s alternative biography of Anselm, *Vita Anselmi*, survives in scores of copies, enhances the impression that *Historia*

⁷ Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 153.

⁸ Anselm, Epp. 303 and 304, Part II, 6b and 6c below.

⁹ Anselm, Ep. 283, Part II, 6d below.

¹⁰ John of Salisbury, *Vita Anselmi*, 57.

¹¹ John of Salisbury, *Vita Anselmi*, 47.

Novorum was something of a local history, relevant only to Canterbury. Like Orderic Vitalis's *Ecclesiastical History*, and indeed most house chronicles, only the autograph copy survived in its complete form. That William of Malmesbury had read it and incorporated it into his histories seems to confirm its status as a manual for Canterbury insiders, as William, as we have seen, was probably Eadmer's student, and thus carried on the Bec/Canterbury legacy.¹² Only Bec/Canterbury insiders thus would see Anselm's keen intelligence, brilliant maneuvering, and fervent tenacity that enabled him to win the final victory over two kings. The rest of the world would see him as Eadmer portrayed him in *Vita Anselmi*, as an ideal saint for all ages. While Eadmer would never deny that Anselm was such a saint, this image was for popular consumption. Although Eadmer specified in *Vita Anselmi* that this work could not be understood without reading the previous work, *Historia Novorum*,¹³ only the monks of Canterbury would have been likely to see—indeed, must see—the practical man behind his saintly aura, the political genius who outwitted King Henry and outmaneuvered Popes Urban and Paschal. For simultaneously to winning King Henry's agreement to giving up investitures while retaining homage, Anselm won several major victories over the two popes. He won from Urban the right to rule in England according to his own discretion, without consulting Urban on matters in that far removed, barbarian land.¹⁴ He won from Paschal assent to the compromise he had worked out with King Henry over investitures,¹⁵ and Paschal's grant of the primacy to Anselm and to his successors.¹⁶ And finally he won from Paschal supremacy over the church of York as his suffragan.¹⁷

Anselm's background at Bec played a huge role in his career as archbishop of Canterbury. In the thirty years he spent at Bec, he had developed a coherent and systematic view of the "right order" of both Normandy and England, together with his teacher and predecessor Lanfranc. Lanfranc seems to have seen Bec as a kind of missionary outpost in Normandy, with a mission to convert the inhabitants, who still lived like the old Danes, and all acted totally like barbarians.¹⁸ It was thus that the *Vita Herluini*, a kind of textbook for the school of Bec,¹⁹ portrayed them. As we have seen, the Bec literature portrays the Conqueror, whom Lanfranc befriended, as putting this teacher and reformer on

¹² See Chapter 1, above.

¹³ Eadmer, VA, 2.

¹⁴ Anselm, Ep. 223, Part II, 2c, below.

¹⁵ Anselm, Ep. 369, Part II, 5d, below.

¹⁶ Anselm, Epp. 303, 304, Part II, 6b and 6c below.

¹⁷ Anselm, Ep. 283, Part II, 6d below.

¹⁸ VH, 89, see also 92.

¹⁹ See Vaughn, "Anselm of Bec: The Pattern of his Teaching."

a watchtower to oversee all the churches of Normandy, and then sought him out to transform his new conquered land into a model of reform patterned after the best churches in Normandy—clearly Bec itself.

Lanfranc and his student Anselm had a clearly non-Gregorian view of church reform—at least for England. One of the principles taught at Bec was that history repeats itself—a kind of Platonic vision that seems to view the Bible as a template, the reenactment of its scenes a kind of spiral in which each reenactment embodied a more perfect state of being.²⁰ Thus, while Herluin was a new Moses leading his monks—more perfect than a clan of Hebrews—out of the wilderness to the Promised Land, like Moses, he could not enter it. Lanfranc, by implication a new Aaron, was destined to give God’s laws to England, and Anselm was his successor. God’s laws could be found in history, God’s revelation of himself, and Lanfranc and Anselm found their template in Bede’s history: Pope Gregory the Great’s commission to St. Augustine of Canterbury and his monks to convert pagan England. As the Bec leaders saw Normandy as filled with barbarians, so they saw England as likewise filled with pagans and barbarians who needed conversion. As Anselm said to King William Rufus, “... I beg you first of all to give help and guidance to secure that in this kingdom of yours Christianity, which among the majority of the inhabitants has almost entirely died out, may be restored to its rightful place.”²¹ Pope Gregory’s instructions to St. Augustine became something of a guidebook or instruction book for these new missionaries to England, so that Gregory’s letter to King Ethelbert commanding him to listen to Augustine’s advice before all others because he spoke for God became a pattern that Anselm (and probably also Lanfranc before him) converted into the two-oxen theory of king and archbishop yoked together, drawing the plow of the Church through the land of England. While many other monastic foundations and historical writings stressed biblical precedents and tropes in this way, none did so with quite the intensity of the Bec leaders and writers. We mentioned above Anselm’s *De Concordia*, his tract on God’s foreknowledge, predestination, grace and free choice, in the context of our discussion of Anselm’s view of history.²² We will return to a discussion of Anselm’s circumstances in the writing of *De Concordia* that lend a particular

²⁰ See Vaughn, “Anselm of Canterbury’s View of God’s Law in England: Definitions, Political Applications, and Philosophical Implications.” See also S. Vaughn, “The Concept of Law at the Abbey of Bec: How Law and Legal Concepts were Described, Taught and Practiced in the Time of Lanfranc and Anselm,” in *Law and Learning in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the Second Carlsberg Academy Conference on Medieval Legal History, 2005*, ed. Helle Vogt and Mia Münster-Swendsen (DJØF Publishing, Copenhagen, 2006), 167–180.

²¹ Eadmer, HN, 48.

²² See above, Chapter 2.

potency to this theory of history I have described as so important to Bec/Canterbury men.

Eadmer saw Lanfranc as working closely with the Conqueror in this very cooperative configuration, and tells us that Anselm aspired to such an arrangement with King William Rufus—the two-oxen theory—to no avail. Anselm was not helpless before the king's assaults, holding him off for a long time with his superior intellect and legal abilities, but in the end he was forced to succumb to the king's aggression and powers. Anselm was driven into exile, deprived of his archiepiscopal office, possessions, and legal position by the king's ruthless quest for supremacy. Having gained such power in England, Rufus was set on conquering Wales and Scotland, successfully subduing the former; he then not only grabbed Normandy from his brother, but used it as a base for seemingly endless future conquests, including Maine, Brittany, Aquitaine, and even, so he dreamed, perhaps Paris. While Eadmer paints Rufus as a diabolical figure, his own probable student William of Malmesbury sought to rescue the king from this blackening portrait, telling us that he had some good qualities that were appropriate to a king, but unfortunately his life was cut short before he could develop them fully. It was only the king's assassination—possibly with the knowledge, or even assent, of the many churchmen who either foretold or had foreknowledge of the king's death—that enabled Anselm to return to England under King Henry I.

Where William II was extraordinarily strong and powerful, Henry faced much uncertainty and many challenges to his power. Henry had to compromise with Anselm to secure his throne, maintain it, and eventually to conquer Normandy as well to reunite the Anglo-Norman state. With this leverage over Henry, Anselm applied his great intelligence and knowledge to meet the king on equal grounds, engaging in a power struggle and propaganda war to bring the king in the end into compliance with Anselm's episcopal vision of king and archbishop ruling jointly in nearly every respect.

Yet while Anselm outlined his two-oxen theory to the unmarried King William Rufus, when Henry married Edith-Matilda of Scotland, Anselm modified this theory once again, this time to include the queen. Now he envisioned the rule of England rightly ordered by a troika of three equal persons, a trinity, if you will, of king, queen, and archbishop.²³ Evidence for Anselm's view of the queen in this position appears in his letter to Edith-Matilda telling her to be a mother hen over the church of England, gathering all the churches under her wings,²⁴ in a role of protection of the churches exactly equal to the role of

²³ See my argument for this in Vaughn, *St. Anselm and the Handmaidens of God*.

²⁴ Anselm, Ep. 288, Part II, 5b below.

England's archbishop; and in his letter to the queen stating that she stood on the right hand of the king, analogously to Christ and the Church, or Christ and the Virgin. Thus Anselm's two-oxen theory was transformed into a kind of trinity ruling over England.

While the story of the political struggles between king and archbishop played a dominant role in Anselm's archiepiscopate, another story was reenacted behind the scenes. Anselm had to spend the majority of his time and energy fighting two successive kings for the archiepiscopal powers and status his vision of "right order" demanded.

Nevertheless, he marshaled his episcopal powers to make sure that he claimed and obtained every iota of Canterbury privilege. We have seen how he won what he considered the "traditional" Canterbury rights from two popes. He was careful to obtain written professions of obedience from all his suffragan bishops at his consecration, and throughout his career, modeling them on the professions given to Lanfranc.²⁵ He learned from Wulfstan bishop of Worcester that archbishops of Canterbury had traditionally consecrated churches throughout England, in whatever dioceses they wished,²⁶ also, according to Eadmer, "dispensing personally or through his representatives all sacred offices throughout the whole of his lands."²⁷ Anselm claimed the right to invest all clerics in England, and thus control over all ecclesiastical appointments, and according to Eadmer, exercised this right freely. Thus Anselm applied in England the superb administrative skills he had learned as abbot of Bec to order his see in the smallest details. At all times, even during his exiles, he kept in touch with his subordinates in Canterbury to assure that the see was well administered. During his second exile, he put Gundulf bishop of Rochester in charge of Canterbury affairs in his absence, and wrote to him often.²⁸ He took care to see that King Henry did not overstep his bounds with Canterbury possessions and rights concerning church taxes and the consecration of Canterbury suffragans during his second exile.²⁹

His administration touched even secular matters, as he wrote to Ralph bishop of Chichester concerning his own vassals—knights and faithful men.³⁰

²⁵ *Canterbury Professions*, 50a–61. See Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 169 and n. 89.

²⁶ Anselm, Ep. 170, Part II, 3d below.

²⁷ Eadmer, HN, 47. See Anselm Ep. 200, in which Maurice bishop of London does not oppose such practices.

²⁸ Anselm, Ep. 293, for example; see Part II, 7b below.

²⁹ Anselm, Epp. 265, Part II, 7c below; and 442, Part II, 6j below.

³⁰ Anselm, Ep. 469, Part II, 7d below.

And he even addressed one letter to all his faithful vassals,³¹ like any feudal lord exercising his feudal rights. Du Boulay makes clear that Canterbury continued to owe knight service to the king well into the thirteenth century.³² We have already seen that Anselm deployed his own knights in the field to defend England's coast in the face of a threatened invasion at the orders of King William Rufus in 1095, as Anselm told the papal legate Walter of Albano;³³ and once again he deployed his own knights in the field for Henry I's cause against a threatened invasion by Robert Curthose in 1101.³⁴ Thus Anselm functioned much like a feudal lord over his honor—the see of Canterbury.

Anselm made sure that Canterbury retained or recovered every iota of land in its possession, just as his predecessor Lanfranc had.³⁵ *Domesday Monachorum*, dating to about 1100, a re-surveying of Canterbury's lands to amend and adjust the Domesday records, shows a significant rearrangement of the Canterbury estates, dividing them between archbishop and monks,³⁶ which took place under Anselm's pontificate. This new survey was done in the fourteen years after Domesday, surely with Anselm's knowledge, and probably under his orders. "Anselm would not bargain with William II about property for which he must answer exactly to God,"³⁷ and consequently he made sure that every parcel of Canterbury land was accounted for. Anselm began the institution of the manor-house of Lambeth Palace as the archbishop's town residence,³⁸ among the many residences that the archbishop must maintain.

Not only did Anselm devote himself to even the smallest details of administrative responsibilities in England, but he also looked to the larger issues of Canterbury administration in the wider world of Britain—and perhaps even Normandy. As early as 1095, he asserted his power over the Welsh church by suspending two of its three bishops for canonical irregularities.³⁹ In 1107, on the death of Herewald of Llandaff, Anselm obtained a written profession of obedience from his own loyal appointment to Llandaff.⁴⁰ The bishops of

³¹ Anselm, Ep. 475, Part II, 7f below.

³² F.R.H. Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury, An Essay on Medieval Society* (Barnes and Noble, New York, 1966), 75 ff.

³³ Anselm, Epp. 191, 192, Part II, 4a and 4b below.

³⁴ See above, Chapter 6.

³⁵ Anselm, Ep. 474, Part II, 7e below. On this, see Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, 47.

³⁶ Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, 47.

³⁷ Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, 195, quoting R.W. Southern.

³⁸ Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, 238.

³⁹ Anselm, Ep. 175.

⁴⁰ *Canterbury Professions*, no. 59.

St. David's and Bangor followed suit,⁴¹ assuring Canterbury's almost complete control of the Welsh church under Anselm. As we have seen, he wrote to the Irish bishops Donatus of Dublin, Domnal of Munster, and "all others in high church office in Ireland" to explain his assumption of the Canterbury primacy in 1093–1094, and to explain his vision of "due order" to them.⁴² They were to bring to Anselm's attention any questions concerning ecclesiastical usages and laws, and rely on Anselm's advice in all matters. Anselm then made a profitable alliance with King Murchertach of Ireland, and oversaw all the bishoprics of Ireland—Munster, Meath, Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, and Leinster—to manifest all his primatial rights and responsibilities. Later, he wrote to Gilbert bishop of Limerick, schooled in the Bec/Canterbury tradition.⁴³ Needless to say, he obtained written professions of obedience from all of them.⁴⁴ Thus Anselm advanced the Canterbury primacy to its highest limits it was ever to attain over the British Isles. That he had some sense that this primacy might extend even to Denmark, is suggested by his letter to the London of the Danes, recognizing the new archbishop of Lund, Asser, in Denmark. He gives thanks to God for Asser's advancement, admonishes him to "correct what needs to be corrected, build what is to be built, and support what is to be supported," and to "purify that kingdom of apostates."⁴⁵ This letter suggests that he was in some sense instructing the new archbishop, who had been granted a metropolitan pallium about May 1104, perhaps with a remnant of a thought that somehow Denmark should be subject to Canterbury as well, or at least look to Canterbury for advice, as a part of that "other world" of the North which he claimed to rule as almost a pope—perhaps as part of the "adjacent isles" to which he laid claim. It is certain that this appointment marked Lund's independence from the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, and in the letter included in the Schmitt edition, Lund is labeled "The London of the North," suggesting a certain keen English interest in Denmark.

Anselm's interest in the Northern World comprising the islands north of Scotland, settled by Vikings in the ninth and tenth centuries, is also revealed

⁴¹ *Canterbury Professions*, nos. 64, 67.

⁴² Anselm, Ep. 198, Part II, 3e below.

⁴³ Anselm, Ep. 429, Part II, 6i below.

⁴⁴ See Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 196; Eadmer HN 73–74, 76–77. Anselm, Epp. 201–201, 207. *Canterbury Professions* 51, 54.

⁴⁵ Anselm, Ep. 447, Part II, 6h below. Anselm does not indicate where Lund is located. Dom Schmitt gives the letter a heading describing Asser as archbishop "Lundini Danorum," but that seems to be of his own invention. The Lambeth manuscript actually garbles the name, writing it "Laudis," which is the Italian see of Lodi. Nowhere in the manuscript transmission is Asser's see called the London of the North, but the Cotton manuscript carries a very late gloss indicating that Lund is in Denmark. I am grateful to Michael Gelting for this information.

by his somewhat earlier letter to Earl Hakon of the Orkneys, congratulating the new earl that he now had a bishop. Since Anselm congratulates Hakon on acquiring a bishop, the letter must be dated 1106–1108. Roger, a monk of Whitby, became bishop of the Orkneys in 1101, but Hakon did not become earl until 1106. Roger died in 1108.⁴⁶ It seems likely that Anselm wrote on Hakon's accession in 1106. What is interesting about the letter is that it is almost a mirror image—although abbreviated—of Pope Gregory the Great's letter to King Ethelbert of Kent, charging him to listen to his new archbishop of Canterbury "as if he were God." Anselm told Hakon to entrust himself zealously to the teaching and preaching of his bishop and strive to make his people do the same, attracting them to the Christian religion. Most importantly, he told Hakon to subject himself to his bishop.

That Anselm continued to maintain a degree of control over Normandy is suggested by his letter to William Bona Anima archbishop of Rouen in the summer of 1102, imploring Archbishop William to order Roger le Sap abbot of St. Evroul in Normandy to withdraw his appointment of his monk Robert as abbot of Bury-St.-Edmunds in England.⁴⁷ While one might expect the English archbishop to appeal to his former student and fellow archbishop in such a case, Anselm wrote an inordinate amount of letters to Archbishop William,⁴⁸ three of which dealt with this issue. William's court could serve as a refuge for bishops who had to flee England for supporting Anselm against the king, as in the case of William bishop-elect of Winchester, in 1103.⁴⁹ Archbishop William also worked closely with Anselm as Bec/Canterbury clerics moved back and forth from England to Normandy.⁵⁰ Anselm wrote to Pope Paschal on Archbishop William's behalf several times, asking Paschal to lift William's suspension.⁵¹ Paschal did, at

⁴⁶ Anselm, Ep. 449. For Roger and his predecessor Ralph, see Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York, 1066–1157*, Nelsons Medieval Texts (Thomas Nelson and Sons, London, 1961), 32, 71, 72, 74, 76, 78, 81. Walter Fröhlich identifies Ralph Norvel as Roger's successor, but Hugh the Chanter clearly identifies another Ralph as Roger's predecessor, ordained by Thomas I, while Roger, Hugh says, was ordained by Gerard. This dates Roger's ordination to between 1100, when Gerard was elected archbishop of York, until his death in 1108. As Hakon became earl in 1106, this letter must then have been written shortly after the Battle of Tinchebrai; Gerard was never ordained archbishop by Anselm, because he would not swear obedience to Canterbury. Like Thomas II, he delayed and delayed. This letter seems to indicate that Anselm saw himself as superior to the bishop of the Orkneys.

⁴⁷ Anselm, Ep. 271, Part II, 7a below.

⁴⁸ Anselm, Epp. 89, 154, 266, 269, 271, 274, 279, 388, 397, 398, 419. See Ep. 271, Part II, 7a below.

⁴⁹ Anselm, Ep. 274.

⁵⁰ Anselm, Ep. 279.

⁵¹ Anselm, Epp. 388, 397, 398.

Anselm's request, putting Archbishop William under Anselm's jurisdiction in the very letter in which Paschal recognized the legitimacy of the settlement Anselm made with King Henry over investitures and homage.⁵² This grant suggests something more than just Paschal's ratification of the investiture settlement. It implies something of a recognition of Anselm's authority over Normandy as well as England, just at the moment when King Henry had conquered the duchy and now ruled a unified Anglo-Norman state. Paschal followed this up with a letter personally to Archbishop William stating that he is now placed under "the bishop of Canterbury ... whatever he grants you we grant" on the condition that Archbishop William banish his evil counsellors.⁵³ There is no hint that this authority might continue under Anselm's successors, but the grant enhanced his own personal power immensely, suggesting that he was to guide the Norman church as well as the English church. Thus in 1106–1109, the final years of Anselm's pontificate, he had actual or nominal control over the English, Irish, Welsh, and Norman churches, and perhaps also over the Orkneys.

Moreover, Anselm's influence, if not his power and authority, extended beyond even Europe to the Holy Land, for he wrote two letters to Baldwin king of Jerusalem instructing him in appropriate kingly deportment and rule.⁵⁴ As I have shown elsewhere, Baldwin's mother, Ida countess of Boulogne, was Anselm's closest woman friend, a lifelong friend who was closer to him than almost anyone else. It was during Baldwin's childhood that Ida and Anselm communicated most frequently, and it is inconceivable that Anselm had not had some influence over Baldwin's education and training.⁵⁵ Thus Archbishop Anselm felt completely comfortable in giving advice to the king of Jerusalem on proper Christian rule and conduct over Christendom's holiest kingdom.

It was under these conditions and with these triumphs seemingly complete that Anselm fell ill in 1107, at Bury-St.-Edmunds, where he had gone to install a new abbot and quell the disturbances that had engulfed it since 1102. There, as was his right throughout England, he performed essential archiepiscopal functions such as the dedication of altars, consecrations and buildings. Eadmer says he was seized by a serious illness, and brought almost to his last gasp. He could no longer ride a horse, and had to be carried about in a litter, much weakened in body. It was just then that he wrote *De Concordia*,⁵⁶ after he had won his great victories over king and pope, and was enjoying his achievement of the status for

⁵² Anselm, Ep. 397.

⁵³ Anselm, Ep. 398.

⁵⁴ Anselm, Epp. 235 and 324, Part II, 6f and 6g below.

⁵⁵ On Anselm's friendship with Ida, see Vaughn, *Saint Anselm and the Handmaidens of God*, 126–159, 241–262, and *passim*.

⁵⁶ Eadmer, VA, 139–141.

which he had fought for so long, ruling cooperatively with the king and virtually independent of the pope's direct control, that he began to think once more about the issues of human free will, God's foreknowledge, and predestination. As he lay ill at St. Edmunds in 1107, perhaps fearing that he might die, he took up again the problem of human free will, about which he had written so long ago at Bec. Now, he wished to reconcile it with God's foreknowledge of all that happens in time. It is tempting to think that he was in fact contemplating the events of his career, and thinking about whether his decisions had fulfilled God's will adequately—or whether God had foreordained the decisions he had made. Perhaps he was thinking about the *necessity* of some of his decisions to bring about God's will; for this seems to have been his train of thought.

In this tract, he argued that “you ought not to say merely ‘God foreknows that I am going to sin,’ or ‘God foreknows that I am not going to sin.’ But you should say ‘God foreknows that it is without necessity that I am going to sin,’ or ‘God foreknows that it is without necessity that I am not going to sin.’”⁵⁷ This is an extremely important point, because it gives great weight and importance to human decisions. They are essential to the fulfilling of God's will, even though God foreknows what those decisions will be. Human choices matter, in God's grand plan. Although Job 14:5 says that God had “established man's end, which cannot be escaped,” Anselm interprets this text so as to avoid the doctrine of predestination. God

is said to have established immutably within himself something which can be altered with respect to man before it actually comes to pass ... For it is not contradictory to say both that within eternity something does occur (never that it has occurred or will occur) and that within time this same event has occurred or will occur. Likewise, it is not inconsistent to maintain that an event which is unchangeable in eternity may, before it actually occurs in time, be changeable as a result of free will.⁵⁸

Thus, while in the temporal world events in the past are immutable, the present and the future remain changeable because of the choices human beings make. This does not contradict the immutability of God's eternal present, in which past, present, and future coexist.

For God, all temporal events exist neither earlier nor later one from another, but rather all exist simultaneously within an eternal present. “It encompasses all things that occur at the same time and place and that occur at different times and

⁵⁷ Hopkins, *Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 25.

⁵⁸ *De Concordia*, 1, 5, as quoted in Hopkins, *Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 46.

places ... Things that are temporally past are altogether immutable, and in this way resemble the eternal present. In this respect the temporal past is more like the eternal present than is the temporal present.”⁵⁹ Thus, the choices Anselm had made throughout his career were both foreknown by God, and chosen without necessity by his own free will. At the same time, these choices were vitally necessary to bring about God’s plan, which exists immutably in God’s eternal present. So Anselm must have been contemplating the course of his own career, and the choices he had made in it, in both arguing these important distinctions between free will, God’s foreknowledge, and predestination, and in considering the decisions he himself had made, as he brought about his cooperative co-rule with King Henry I, vividly symbolized by the great reforming council of 1106, presided over jointly by king and archbishop; his virtual independence from papal control; and his primacy over the churches of Britain. The “due order” Anselm had contemplated even before his election to Canterbury had been brought into being by the end of his tenure.

Anselm’s primatial triumph would have been complete had he been able to bring under his control the archbishops of York, who resisted this submission to Canterbury with all their might. Although Anselm had won Pope Paschal’s command to Gerard of York to swear obedience to Canterbury, Gerard continued to refuse such obedience, and this cause was continued by his successor Thomas II of York. Anselm’s last battle, up to the eve of his death, aimed to resolve this final conflict that would serve to complete all his triumphs. He even wrote to his old enemy—now his ally—Robert of Meulan to pressure Thomas II to submit.⁶⁰ But all was to no avail. Even on his deathbed Anselm remained resolved, issuing a last threat of excommunication and anathema of Thomas if Thomas did not comply. Thomas, knowing Anselm was dying, delayed and delayed, winning out in the end.

Anselm died on April 21, 1109. After celebrating the Easter Feast in the royal court at London, April 14, 1107, he went, as we said above, to St. Edmund’s abbey at Bury to confirm its abbot and to perform “certain other episcopal offices, as he was entitled to do.” There, he fell ill, forcing King Henry to postpone the great Council he had proposed “for the filling of the vacant churches” until August 1. At that date, “all the nobility of England” assembled in Henry’s London palace, and

Anselm to some extent achieved the victory for the liberty of the church for which he had laboured so long. For the king abandoned the custom of his ancestors

⁵⁹ *De Concordia*, 1, 5, as quoted in Hopkins, *Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*, 98–99.

⁶⁰ Anselm, Ep. 467, Part II, 6k below.

and he himself neither elected the persons who undertook the government of churches nor did he invest them with the churches over which they were set by giving them the pastoral staff.⁶¹

It was just then that Anselm wrote his *De Concordia*, reconciling God's foreknowledge of everything with human free will. Hampered by continuing illness, he did not write it all at once, as was his custom with his writing, but with repeated interruptions because he was growing weaker in body. Indeed, he had to be carried about on a litter, "not sitting on a horse," as was his custom. From the time when he first fell ill at Bury-St.-Edmunds, therefore, he suffered frequent grievous sicknesses, continuing until late 1108. Then, he lost his appetite, eating only to keep alive and slowly losing strength over the next six months, but always mentally alert. Thus, "strong in spirit but weak in the flesh," he had himself carried daily to receive communion. Although his attendants, including Eadmer, tried to dissuade him from this practice, it was not until the fifth day before his death that they succeeded. Now he lay continuously in bed, speaking with difficulty to exhort all who visited him to live each in his own station for God. On Palm Sunday, his attendants predicted that he would attend the Easter Court of his Lord in Heaven. He responded that God's will be done, if it was so. But even on his deathbed he had been pondering a question about the origin of the soul.⁶² He continued to weaken, unable to take food, and finally could no longer be understood. Nevertheless, when Ralph bishop of Rochester asked him to give his blessing to those who were present, to his other sons, and to the king and queen and their children, and to the people of the land, he raised his right hand and made the sign of the cross "as if nothing was wrong with him." Then, with the brothers singing lauds in the main church, one of his attendants read to him the Gospel passage assigned to that day. "And when he came to the words 'Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations; and I appoint you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom,'"⁶³ he began to breath more slowly. Believing him on the point of death, his attendants lifted him from his bed onto sackcloth and ashes. "With the whole congregation of his sons gathered around him, and sending forth his soul into the hands of the Creator, he slept in peace."⁶⁴

⁶¹ Eadmer, VA, 139–140.

⁶² Eadmer, VA, 140–142. Southern, in note 1, thinks Anselm was no doubt considering the conflict between the creationist and traducianist view of the origin of the soul, which his student Gilbert Crispin latter attempted to resolve.

⁶³ Luke 22:28–30, which are in the Gospel for Wednesday before Easter, the day of Anselm's death. Eadmer, VA, 143 n. 1.

⁶⁴ Eadmer, VA, 143.

When we hear the story of Anselm's death on April 21, 1109, after having fired off his last desperate attempt to force Thomas II archbishop of York to swear obedience to Canterbury, we are left with the impression of Anselm's failure. But in reality, the Canterbury–York controversy was a minor part of the whole configuration of Canterbury's claims to power. In the larger picture, as Eadmer makes clear in proclaiming Anselm's victory in the church–state conflict, Anselm brought to fruition almost all of the program conceived and initiated by Lanfranc, from his co-rule with the king to his independence from papal power. Canterbury's power spread all over the British Isles, from England to Wales to Ireland to Normandy, and he even put forth a claim to the Orkneys. He and King Henry together held a triumphal council in 1107 at Westminster to celebrate Henry's victory and his reconciliation with Anselm, and the king and the archbishop together appointed new prelates to all the vacant sees in England, and some in Normandy as well.⁶⁵ Bec monks now filled nearly every abbey in England: Ralph abbot of Battle, Richard abbot of Chester, Gilbert Crispin abbot of Westminster, Hugh abbot of St. Augustine's Canterbury, and Ernulf prior of Canterbury now became abbot of Peterborough. Herluin abbot of Glastonbury and Roger abbot of Cerne, were monks of Caen, and thus Bec monks too. Richard d'Albigny abbot of St. Alban's, was a monk of Bec's Norman priory of Lessay. Anselm was perhaps England's most successful archbishop.

In Eadmer's continuation of his *Historia Novorum*, the Canterbury record of Anselm's political career, Books 5 and 6, he documented the rather disastrous episcopal career of Anselm's successor, Ralph d'Escures, and Eadmer's own venture into continuing Anselm's policies as Eadmer was elected bishop of St. Andrews in Scotland. It was Eadmer's strident and adamant insistence that he could be consecrated only after rendering obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury, not under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of York, that ensured that he would never advance to more than the position of bishop-elect of St. Andrews, and would be replaced by another. It was the downfall of both Ralph d'Escures and Eadmer that they tried too hard to follow in Anselm's footsteps. The pattern of Becket's career, as well, seems modeled after Anselm's—with far more stridency, and far less success. Never again was Canterbury to attain the glory and prestige it had reached under Archbishop Anselm.

⁶⁵ Eadmer, HN, 186–187.

PART II
Illustrative Sources,
Anselm's Letters from Lambeth 59

This page has been left blank intentionally

Introduction:
Anselm's Story through his
Letters in Lambeth 59
(which may well have been
Anselm's own collection)

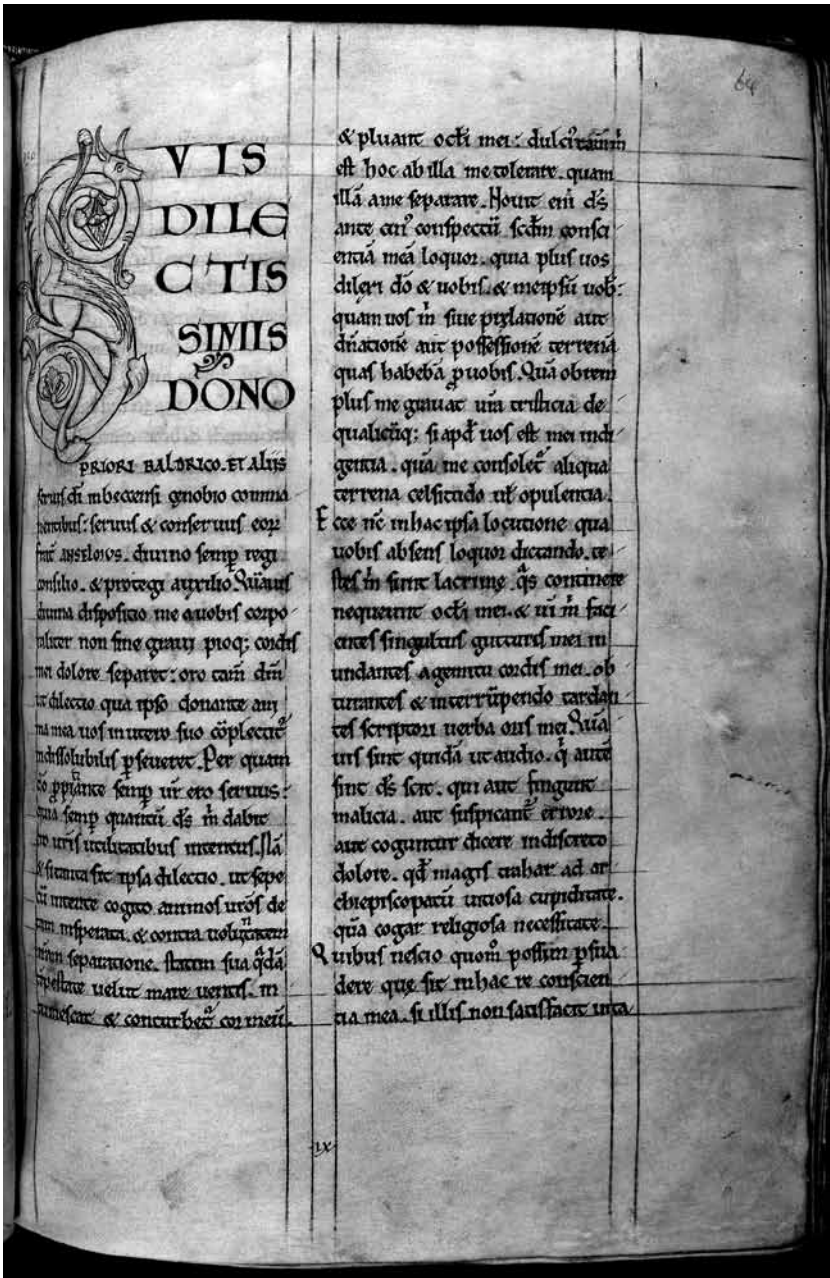


Illustration A. Illuminated Initial from Lambeth 59, fol. 64 r, first Archbishopal letter

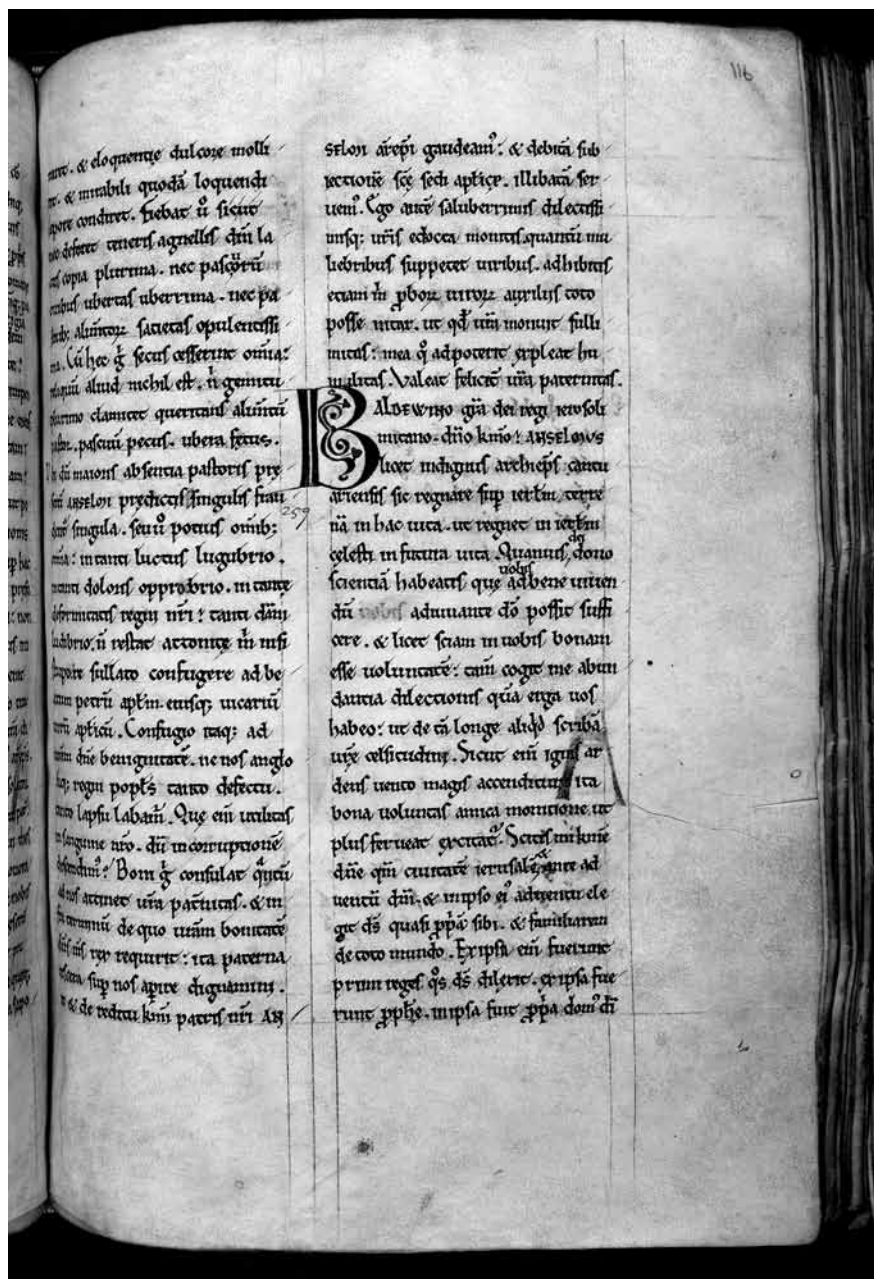


Illustration B. Manuscript Page, Lambeth 59, fol. 176 r, to King Baldwin of Jerusalem

Documents for Chapter 2:
The Bec Background:
A Missionary Mentality

a. Herluin's Dream, in *Vita Herluini*, from "Life of Herluin," in J. Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster: A Study of the Abbey under Norman Rule* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1911), pp. 100, 103

Cuius ad eas partes transmigratio, paucos ante dies quam inde allegatio veniret, venerabili abbati Herluino per visum ostensa est hoc modo. Videbatur quod in virgulto arborem malum habebat, cujus ramorum spatiositas multa erat et magna fructuum ubertas, pomorum vero species delectabilis et sapor optimus. Hanc rex supradictus exposcebat, volens ad quoddam suum eam transferre hortum.¹ Reluctante isto et quod sola ea sustentaretur opponente, quia dominus erat evicit et arborem absportavit. Verum radices penitus avelli non potuerunt; ex quibus pullulantes virgulae confestim in arbores magnas excreverunt. Post parvum denique sub eo visu intervallum memoratus rex de arboris ipsius nimia fructificatione coram illo gaudebat, et ille se ex ea laetissimas habere propagines aggaudendo respondebat. Invitabatur a rege ut ipsum arboris translatae incrementum iret videre, sed parantem proficisci nescio quae alia impediabant. Haec autem omnia sicut visio digessit rerum eventus explicuit, praeterquam quod revera ivit et quod audierat vidit.

Virgultum abbatis erat Beccensis ecclesia, cujus arbor maxima, ille doctor, non solum eam verum alias omnes per patriam suo exemplo et doctrina sustentabat ecclesias. Qui ob religionis sacrae institutionem tradendam Anglis a praedicto rege ad transmarina migrare per abbatem suum, cui tanquam deo ipsi parebat, postulatus, multum invitatus salva obedientia atque ab invito abbate jussus paruit. Cuius quantus inibi postea extiterit fructus, latissime attestatur innovatus usquequaque institutionis ecclesiasticae status; coenobialis ordo, qui omnino ad laicalem prolapsus fuerat dissolutionem, ad probatissimorum reformatur disciplinam monasteriorum; clerici sub canonicali coercentur regula; populus, rituum barbarorum interdicta vanitate, ad rectam credendi atque vivendi formam eruditur.

...

¹ Abulafia and Evans: ortum transferre.

a. Herluin's Dream, in *Vita Herluini*, from "Life of Herluin," in J. Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster: A Study of the Abbey under Norman Rule* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1911), pp. 100, 103

A few days before the messengers [from King William] came [to Bec], Lanfranc's transfer to those parts [England] was shown to the venerable Abbot Herluin in a vision, in this way: It seemed that in an orchard he had an apple tree, the width of whose branches was huge. Its apples were of a delightful sort, and of the best taste. The aforementioned king [William] requested this tree, wishing to transfer it to a garden of his. Reluctant, the abbot objected that this tree was his sole means of support. But the king prevailed because he was the abbot's lord, and he carried the tree away. Yet the roots could not be completely torn out, and from the remaining roots little shoots began to spring up and swiftly grew up into great trees. After a little while (during the vision) the said king rejoiced in Herluin's presence at the mighty fruitfulness of that tree, and Herluin, rejoicing as well, replied that he had the most delightful offspring from it. The king invited him to go and see for himself the growth of the transplanted tree, but as he was preparing to set out, other things—I do not know what—prevented him. The course of events unfurled all of this, just as the vision had portrayed, except that Herluin really went [to England] and saw what he had heard.

The abbot's orchard was the church of Bec, whose greatest tree, that teacher [Lanfranc], sustained not only Bec but truly all the other churches throughout the patria [Normandy] by his example and teaching. When Lanfranc was asked by the aforesaid king [William] through his own abbot, Herluin, whom Lanfranc obeyed as if he were God Himself, to travel across the sea to transmit the customs of sacred religion to the English, he obeyed, most unwillingly, without violating his obedience, and ordered by the unwilling abbot. How great his fruit was afterward there [in England], is proved extensively by the renewed state of church customs in everything; the monastic order, which had fallen totally into the dissoluteness of the laity, is reformed according to the discipline of the best-approved monasteries; clerics are constrained under the rule of canons. After the falsehood of the rites of the barbarians has been prohibited, the people are being taught according to the model of right believing and living.

... De arboris illius magnae radicibus quae in horto suo remanserunt, ut per somnium viderat, vidit postea praedicandus vir pullulantes quasdam virgulas in arbores magnas excrevisse, multos videlicet ad magna bonorum operum incrementa per illius institutionem accessisse; illius etenim sementis existit quicquid unquam boni fructus in Beccensi coenobio vel ab eo extiterit. Arbor fructibus opima fuit venerabilis Anselmus ecclesiae Augustensis clericus, qui illum doctorem maximum ad ordinem monachorum subsecutus ad prioratum quoque ejusdem coenobii Beccensis post eum accessit, et defuncto beatae memoriae supradicto Herluino abbati successit; quique postea successit in episcopatum venerandae recordationis saepedicto Lanfranco Cantuariensi archiepiscopo:² vir ingenio admirabilis, facundia non impari, et quod ad humanum spectat iudicium morum omnium probitate insignis. Quod de approbanda actuum ejus honestate dicimus, vicinitas universa testatur, longe lateque Normannia attestatur, et Gallia amplissime contestatur. Arbor fructuum jocunditate plurimum acceptabilis fuit ecclesiae Cormeliensis abbas Willelmus, apprime³ nutritus et eruditus. Arbor alta atque fructuosa extitit Henricus Cantuariensis ecclesiae decanus, qui postmodum abbas fuit de Bello, vir ecclesiasticis omnibus disciplinis optime instructus. Arbores bonorum operum fertilitate multum gravidae in domo domini extiterunt venerabilis Hernostus ecclesiae Rofensis episcopus, et qui ei ad idem officium ibidem successit, vir morum sanctitate admodum reverendus, Gundulfus episcopus. Hos ecclesiae suae filios vidit grandaevus pater aliis ecclesiis patres constitutos. Hi⁴ sunt filii de quibus in psalmo dicitur, “Fili tui sicut novellae olivarum;” qui ab inferioribus extenuati, ad superiora roborati, caritatis dei adipe et pinguedine repleti aliorum animas verbis ac bonis exemplis reficiendo roborant, roborando sustentant, sustentando ad summa virtutum incrementa educunt. Multam quoque educaverat sobolem spe certissima posteritatis spiritualiter in domino jam juvenescentem; nobilissimorum etenim atque optimorum tam clericorum quam laicorum ex multis partibus orbis illic adunatus numerus ad centenariam pertingebat summam. Vidit filios filiorum, ex sancto videlicet Cadomensi coenobio fratres ad idem opus assumptos, in extremis nationibus multos gignere in domino.

² Abulafia and Evans: ac demum post ipsum Lanfrancum archiepiscopus Cantuariensis extitit, from ms VV; Robinson’s text (from ms CC) may be as good.

³ Abulafia and Evans mention a variant from the poor manuscript: AD. Oprime; but no variant from ms CC.

⁴ Abulafia and Evans: hii.

From the roots of that great tree remaining in his own garden, just as he had seen in his dream, this praiseworthy man [Herluin] afterwards saw some sprouting twigs grow into great trees, that is to say that many obtained a great increase of good works through his instruction. Indeed, from his sowing proceeded whatever good fruit there ever was in the abbey of Bec or came from it. A tree abundant with fruit was the venerable Anselm, a cleric of the church of Aosta, who, having followed that great teacher [Lanfranc] into the order of monks, also succeeded him in the priorate of the same monastery of Bec, and, when the aforesaid Abbot Herluin of blessed memory was dead, he succeeded him as abbot. And afterward, he succeeded the aforesaid Lanfranc, of venerable memory, archbishop of Canterbury, in the episcopate. Anselm was a man of admirable talent and of no less eloquence, and in so far as men can judge, he was distinguished by the probity of all his ways. What we say concerning the commendable honesty of all his acts, is asserted by the whole region, confirmed far and wide by Normandy, and abundantly proved by France. A tree that was especially agreeable for the pleasantness of its fruit was Abbot William of the church of Cormeilles, outstanding for his upbringing and learning. A tree tall and fruitful was Henry, dean of the church of Canterbury, who afterward was abbot of Battle, a man well instructed in all the ecclesiastical disciplines. Trees heavily laden with the fertility of good works in the house of the Lord were the venerable Hernost, bishop of the church of Rochester, and the man who succeeded him to that same office, highly to be revered for the sanctity of his ways, Bishop Gundulf. The aged father saw these sons of his own church placed as fathers of other churches. These are the sons about whom it is said in the Psalm "Thy children are like olive plants;"⁵ who, thinned out in their lower and strengthened in their upper branches, and filled with the buttery fat of God's love, by refreshing the souls of others with words and good examples, they strengthen them; by strengthening them they sustain them; by sustaining them they raise them to the highest increases of virtue. He also educated numerous offspring of the greatest promise, who are now growing up spiritually in the Lord, since the number of the most noble and of the most excellent people, both clerics and laymen, who gathered there from many parts of the world, reached a hundred. He saw the sons of his sons, that is, the brothers from the holy abbey of Caen, recruited for the same work, bring forth many in the Lord among the furthest nations.

⁵ Psalm 127:3.

b. Epistle 149, Ab Osberno monacho Cantuariensi (from Osbern monk of Canterbury, calling Anselm to England)

Domino sanctissimo atque carissimo, electo Anglorum archiepiscopo Anselmo: suus, quod semper erat et semper esse desiderat, servus et filius frater Osbernus, ita rectis consiliis agi, ut deum recta consilia dantem valeat promereri.

Cum te, carissime domine, in omni veritatis cognitione scientissimum esse sciam, mirum valde quod hac in sola re sic omnimoda cognoscendi veri scientia aufugerit, ut quid deo placitum sit in eo, quod communis de te sanctae ecclesiae sententia tulit, ignorare possis. ... aut cunctis—quod non credimus—meliorem te fateberis, quippe cui soli revelatum est quod universae Anglorum ecclesiae fas non erat revelari; aut facias necesse est quod universalis Anglorum suadet ecclesia, hoc est, ut pontificalis infulae principatum inter beatos apostolos suscipere non renuas.

... Quid, inquam, vel ad divinas laudes magnificentius vel ad humana spectacula gaudentius, quam quod in tua electione, exclusis omnibus transactae tempestatis afflictionibus, omnia ad proprii iuris possessionem ... Ecce etenim sponsa mea, sancta Cantuariensis ecclesia, apostoli mei Petri benedictione a principio sanctificata, piissimo piissimi Gregorii studio nobiliter fundata, sanctorum Bonifacii, Honorii, Vitaliani, Agathonis et ceterorum orthodoxorum patrum singulari semper privilegio donata; ad quam, salva Romanae et Apostolicae Sedis auctoritate, omnium circa regionum ecclesiae in suis oppressionibus confugere, atque ab ea tuendae libertatis praesidia expetere simul ac suscipere solebant: ecce illa talis “omnium peripsema” effecta, omnium pertranseuntium pedibus conculcata, non solum nulla perditae libertatis iura caeteris restituere, sed nec sua multo tempore valuit illibata custodire ...

b. Epistle 149, Ab Osberno monacho Cantuariensi (from Osbern monk of Canterbury, calling Anselm to England)

To his holiest and dearest lord, Archbishop-elect of the English Anselm: his own servant and son, as he always was and always desires to be, brother Osbern, who wishes him to act so with right counsel that he may merit God, the giver of right counsel.

Since I know that you, dearest lord, are most learned in the understanding of all truth, it is very strange that in this matter alone the complete knowledge of understanding the truth should have escaped you to such an extent that you could ignore what is God's pleasure in it, what the holy church's universal opinion of you urges. ... either—what I do not believe—you declare yourself to be better than everybody else, since you are the only one to whom that has been revealed, which has not been permitted to be revealed to the entire English church; or it is necessary that you do what the entire English church urges, which is that you should not refuse to receive the dignity among the holy apostles that is conferred by the pontifical insignia.

... What, I ask, could be more magnificent for the praise of God, or more joyous in the sight of men, than that in your election, shutting out all the afflictions of the recent past, everything rushed to take possession of its own right, as if to the appointed date of a jubilee ...?

... Behold my bride, the holy church of Canterbury, sanctified from its beginnings by the blessing of my apostle Peter, founded nobly by the most pious zeal of the most pious Gregory, ever given singular privileges by Boniface, Honorius, Vitalian, Agatho, and the rest of the orthodox fathers; to whom, saving the authority of Rome and the apostolic see, all the churches of the surrounding region used to take refuge in their oppression, and to seek, as well as to receive, from her protection for guarding their liberties: Behold, this church has now become “the offscouring of all,” trampled by the feet of all walking past, not only unable to restore the lost liberties of the rest of the churches, but for a long time unable even to maintain her own unimpaired.

...

... Ego autem ultra non ferens tantam sponsae meae calamitatem, ex tota hominum plenitudine te, Anselme, eligi, atque ad zelandum pro me amicum sponsi exhibui. Doctrinam contuli, virtutem largitus sum. Praemonstravi oraculis, comprobavi miraculis. Verum tu mihi praetulisti Normanniae comitem, deo vermem, viventi mortalem, latitudini Anglorum angustae solitudinis nidum. Excessitne animo Petrum apostolum Antiochiae inthronizatum, nec tamen ullorum singultibus ne Romanos experiretur furores praepeditum? Cur te fugit Pauli caput Miletinorum atque Ephesiorum fletibus irroratum, nec tamen a sulcando aequore, quod eum ad exteras transmitteret nationes, prohibitum? Rogo, hominum sapientissime, si talibus te sententiis iudex impeteret: nonne rationum pondere pressus “parce, iudex,” clamares?

Iam vero, si illam, cui tu noviter attitulatus es, ecclesiam non tanti apud deum meriti esse dixeris, grande eius meritum licet agnoscas. Laurentium namque archiepiscopum multo verbera a praefato apostolo novimus flagellatum, propterea quod paganorum metu conterritus fugam inierit, et eandem ecclesiam adhuc in fidei perceptione rudem derelinquere tentaverit. Item beatissimo confessori Christi Dunstano idem apostolus cum coapostolis Paulo atque Andrea splendens apparuit, eique tradens gladium verbo dei inscriptum, futurum illum—ut postea evenit—eiusdem ecclesiae pontificem praefiguravit. Quod si tanta Christi et apostolorum dignatio super eandem ecclesiam ab initio fuisse perhibetur: magno tibi providendum est opere, qui sanctissimam scientiam habes, ne huius dignationis participium refugas, cum neque sis privata gratia exhibitus necque mercenarius neque Simonis discipulus, sed quem et divina vocavit electio et apostolica informavit institutio.

Praeterea, quamvis monitore non egeas, pro affectu tamen monere te audebo, ut nihil inconsulte agas nec alieno multum a nobis consilio—sive in consecratione tua sit, sive in rebus ecclesiae dandis aut mutandis—, ideo quod novimus sanctissimum praedecessorem tuum multa primo adventus sui tempore ordinasse, quae omni tempore sibi postmodum displicuere. Sunt enim plures qui circa destructionem ecclesiae semper laboraverunt, qui nunc putant quam maxime se regnuros, dicentes te cum deo semper acturum, res ecclesiae non curaturum,—quasi res ecclesiae curare not sit cum deo agere. Sed deo auxiliante, cum te cognoverint quemadmodum ego, puto illos secus dicturos ac sensuros.

But I, tolerating no longer the misfortune of such a bride of mine, I have chosen you, Anselm, from all the numbers of men, and I tendered you to be a friend of the bridegroom to struggle for me. I have bestowed doctrine, I have given virtue. I have foretold this by revelations, I have proved it by miracles. Yet you preferred the count of Normandy to me, a worm to God, a mortal to the living one, and the narrow solitude of your nest to the wide latitude of the English. Has it escaped your mind that the apostle Peter was enthroned at Antioch, but nevertheless was not held back by anybody's sobs that he should not contend with the Roman fury? Why has it escaped you that although Paul's head was sprinkled with the tears of the Melesians and Ephesians, nevertheless he was not prevented from plowing the mirror-like sea that would bring him to foreign nations? I ask, wisest of men, if the judge should impeach you by such sentences, should you not cry out, overwhelmed by the weight of the pleading, "Cease, Judge"?

But now, if you will say that this church, to which you have just been appointed, does not have much worth with God, you should understand its great worth. We know Archbishop Lawrence was scourged with many blows by the aforesaid apostle, because, terrified by the pagans, he turned to flight, trying to abandon that same church, still rude in its understanding of the faith. Likewise the same apostle, with his co-apostles Paul and Andrew, appeared in splendour to the most blessed confessor of Christ Dunstan, and by handing to him a sword inscribed with the word of God, he foretold that he was to be the bishop of that church, as it came about afterwards. If it is shown that so great a grace of Christ and of the apostles has been upon that church from the beginning, you, who have the holiest knowledge, should eagerly take care lest you flee from participating in this grace, since neither have you been supported by private favors, nor are you a hireling, nor are you a disciple of Simon, but you are he who has been both called by God's choice and instated by apostolic command.

Moreover, although you do not need any teacher, nevertheless, because of my affection for you, I dare to point out to you that you should do nothing without counsel nor by counsel which is entirely foreign to us—whether it might be in your consecration, or in giving or changing the possessions of the church—for we know your most holy predecessor to have ordered many things at the time of his first arrival, which afterward displeased him through the whole of his tenure. Indeed there are many who have always worked to the destruction of the church, who now think that they will rule completely over it, saying that you will always act with God, and will not take care of the possessions of the church,—as if taking care of the possessions of the church is not acting with God. But with God's help, when they will know you as well as I know you, I think they will speak and think differently

c. Epistle 223, A Paschali papa (from Pope Paschal, mirroring St. Gregory's letter to St. Augustine)

Paschalis episcopus, servus servorum dei: venerabili fratri et coepiscopo Anselmo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Consulta illa, quae per venerabiles nuntios tuos Baldewinum et Alexandrum ad sedem apostolicam transmisisti, poterat utique fraternitas tua et fratrum qui circa ipsam sunt collatione, et datae divinitus sapientiae et intellectus consideratione discutere. Ceterum, sicut in ceteris consuisti, in hoc quoque communi catholicorum matri reverentiam servare curasti. Nos itaque sanctorum patrum, qui nos in sede apostolica disponente domino praecesserunt, vestigiis inhaerentes hoc consultationi tuae respondenda deliberavimus.

ANSELMUS: Si de manu laici liceat episcopo vel abbati accipere ecclesias, quas in suo dominio habent, cum eas non personae, sed episcopatus vel abbatiae donent.

PASCHALIS: De manu laici episcopus iam consecratus suscipere not debet ecclesias, si in aliena parochia sint. Si vero in sua parochia sunt, licenter accipiat. Hoc enim non videtur dare, sed reddere, cum ecclesiae omnes per singulas parochias in episcoporum esse debeant potestate. Abbates vero per episcoporum manus accipiant.

ANSELMUS: De sacerdotum filiis vel concubinarum, qui quosdam olim gradus acceperunt et volunt omnino redire ad immunditias saeculi, nisi ad maiores promoveantur. Et si promovebuntur, promittunt religiosam vitam: quid agendum est?

PASCHALIS: De sacerdotum filiis vel concubinarum, quam viam tenendam praedecessores nostri sedis apostolicae pontifices instituerint, nosse te credimus. Nec nos ab illorum volumus aberrare vestigiis. Quid igitur tibi super iis in barbaris sit regionibus disponendum, ex ipsius praecepti poteris collatione distinguere.

ANSELMUS: Si a presbyteris feminas habentibus liceat poenitentiam et corpus domini in periculo mortis accipere, cum nullus continens adest; et si licet et illi dare nolunt, quia missae earum contemnantur; quid faciendum est?

PASCHALIS: In periculo mortis positum melius aestimamus de manu cuiuslibet clerici dominicum corpus accipere, quam de corpore sine viatico, dum religiosus sacerdos expectatur, exire. Si qui vero presbyterorum, pro vitae suae contemptu praeterito, in illo extrematis articulo positus viaticum denegaverint, tamquam animarum homicidae districtius puniantur.

c. Epistle 223, A Paschali papa (from Pope Paschal, mirroring St. Gregory's letter to St. Augustine)

Bishop Paschal, servant of the servants of God: to his venerable brother and co-bishop Anselm sends greetings and apostolic blessings.

Those weighty matters, which you transmitted to the apostolic see through your venerable messengers Baldwin and Alexander, your fraternity certainly was able to determine both by deliberation with the brothers who are around you, and by consulting your God-given wisdom and understanding. Nevertheless, just as you are accustomed to do in other matters, you have taken care to preserve reverence toward the common mother of the Catholics in this matter as well. And so we, adhering to the footsteps of the holy fathers who preceded us in the apostolic see by the Lord's disposition, have resolved to answer your queries thus:

ANSELM: If it may be allowed to a bishop or an abbot to accept by the hand of a layman churches which he holds in his domain, when they give them not to a person, but to a bishopric or to an abbey.

PASCHAL: A bishop already consecrated ought not to accept churches from the hand of a layman if they are in a foreign diocese. But if they are in his own diocese, he may accept them willingly. For it seems right that this is not to give but to return, since all churches throughout each diocese ought to be in the power of the bishop. But abbots may receive them from the hands of bishops.

ANSELM: About the sons of priests or of concubines, who formerly have received some ordinations and wish totally to return to the impurity of the world, unless they be promoted to better things; and if they are promoted, they promise a religious life; what should be done?

PASCHAL: About the sons of priests or concubines, we believe you know what our predecessors, the pontiffs of the apostolic see, have established as the course to follow. Nor do we wish to turn away from their footsteps. Therefore what you ought to decide about them in barbarous regions, you will be able to make out from an analysis of that very precept.

ANSELM: If it be allowed to accept penance and the body of the Lord in danger of death from a priest having a wife, when no continent priest is present; and if, this notwithstanding, they too refuse to give it, because their masses are held in contempt; what should be done?

PASCHAL: Placed in danger of death, we think it better to accept the body of the Lord from the hand of any cleric, than to leave the body without the Eucharist of the dying while waiting for a pious priest. But if any of the priests should deny the Eucharist to someone placed in that final moment because of past contempt of his own life, they should be punished severely as the murderers of souls.

ANSELMUS: Si rex habet terras episcopatus vel abbatiae, quas nullo modo reddere vult, et pro eis vult dare aliquam ecclesiam quam in sua manu tenet, non minus utilem; si liceat eam accipere, ne iudicetur emptio?

PASCHALIS: Pro terris ecclesiarum de manu regis ecclesias suscipere minus licet, ne sacrilegio dari videatur assensus. Divina enim in nullius bonis sunt, et quod deo semel oblatum est, in alienos usus non expedit usurpari. Porro sub huiusmodi commutationibus saeculari potestati securius indulgetur.

ANSELMUS: Si nullus clericus debet fieri homo laici et aliqua beneficia aut possessiones non ecclesiasticas debet tenere de laico, nec laicus vult ei dare, nisi fiat suus homo: quid fiet?

PASCHALIS: Liberam esse ecclesiam Paulus dicit. Indignam est igitur ut clericus, qui iam in dei sortem assumptus est et iam laicorum dignitatem excessit, pro terrenis lucris hominum laico faciat; ne forte, dum repetitur servitii saecularis obnoxius, vacet aut gravetur ecclesia. Scriptum est enim: "Nemo militans deo implicat se negotiis saecularibus."

ANSELMUS: Saepe necesse est aliquid de apostolicis et canonicis statutis pro compensationibus relaxare, et maxime in regno in quo fere omnia sic corrupta et perversa sunt, ut vix ibi aliquid omnino secundum statuta ecclesiastica fieri possit; peto ut per licentiam vestram possim quaedam, prout mihi discretionem deus dabit, temperare. Quod petii a domino papa Urbano, et ipse posuit in mea deliberatione.

ANSELM: If the king holds the lands of a bishopric or abbey, which in no way he wishes to return, and for these lands he wishes to give some church, which he holds in his own hand, no less useful: if it be allowed to accept it, lest it be judged a purchase?

PASCHAL: It is not allowed to receive churches instead of ecclesiastical lands from the king, lest you might seem to approve sacrilege. Divine things indeed are in nobody's possession, and it is not expedient to divert to other purpose what has once been offered to God. It would make it easier to yield to secular power in such exchanges in the future.

ANSELM: If no cleric ought to be made the man of a layman, and some cleric ought to hold some non-ecclesiastical benefices or possessions from a layman, and the layman refuses to give it to him, unless he becomes his man: what should be done?

PASCHAL: Paul said the church is free.⁶ It is unworthy therefore that a cleric, who has both been received into the lot of God and also surpassed the dignity of laymen, should do homage to a layman for earthly profit, lest by chance, when he is called to perform his obligations in secular service, his church is vacant or oppressed. For it is written: "No man, being a soldier to God, entangleth himself with secular businesses."⁷

ANSELM: Often it is necessary to relax something from the apostolic and canonical statutes in compensation, and especially in a kingdom in which nearly all things are so corrupt and perverse that scarcely anything may be done according to the statutes of the Church. I ask that by your permission I may temper certain things, according to the power of discernment that God may grant me. This I sought from the lord Pope Urban, and he left it to my judgement.

⁶ Galatians 4:22–31.

⁷ 2 Timothy 2:4.

PASCHALIS: Dispensationis modus, sicut beatus Cyrillus in epistola Ephesinae synodi loquitur, nulli umquam sapientum displicuit. Novimus enim sanctos patres nostros et ipsos apostolos pro temporum articulis et qualitatibus personarum dispensationibus usos. Quam ob rem nos de religione et sapientia tua diu longeque spectata nihil penitus ambigentes, tuae deliberationi committimus, ut iuxta datum tibi divinitus intellectum, cum ecclesiae, cuius praepositus es, tanta necessitas expetit, sanctorum canonum decretorumque difficultatem opportuna et rationabili valeas providentia temperare.

ANSELMUS: Rannulfus, de quo vestrum olim petii consilium, a rege restitutus est in episcopatum. Si ergo vobis placuerit, inquirete vitam eius ab episcopis nostris, qui nunc ad vos venerunt, ac de eo aechiepiscopo eius et mihi, primati eius, consulite.

PASCHALIS: Rannulfi episcopi causam, quandoquidem iuxta praeceptum nostrum in cathedram propriam restitutus est, indiscussam praeterire non patimur. Eius enim facinora gravissima ad sedem apostolicam multorum sunt relatione perlata. Volumus ergo, ut apud praesentiam vestram in episcoporum conventu, quae de eo ad nos scripta sunt plenius pertractentur. Discussionem habitam, nisi se septima sui ordinis manu expurgare potuerit, mox cum litterarum vestrarum testimonio transmittatur ad nos. Si autem de conscientia sua trepidans ad examen nostrum pervenire noluerit, per experientiam vestram ab ecclesia quam occupat expellatur, et in ea iuxta canonicas sanctiones episcopus subrogetur.

PASCHAL: As the blessed Cyril said in a letter to the synod of Ephesus,⁸ this sort of dispensation has never displeased any of the wise. For we know our holy fathers and the apostles themselves used dispensations according to circumstances of the times and the qualities of people. On account of which we, having no doubt whatsoever about your piety and wisdom, which we have long observed from afar, leave it to your decision, so that you may be able to moderate by fit and reasonable providence, a deficiency of the holy canons and of the decretals according to the understanding God has given to you, when it is required by a great necessity of the church, whose leader you are.

ANSELM: Rannulf, about whom I have previously sought your counsel, has been restored to his episcopate by the king. Therefore if it will please you, inquire about his life from our bishops, who have now come to you, and give counsel about him to his archbishop and to me, his primate.

PASCHAL: We do not allow the case of bishop Rannulf to be passed over without examination, when he has been restored to his own see according to our order. Indeed his extremely serious misdeeds have been conveyed to the apostolic see by the reports of many. Therefore it is our will that what has been written to us about him should be investigated more fully in an assembly of bishops in your presence. When the enquiry has been done, he should be sent to us presently with the testimony of your letters, unless he is able to exculpate himself.⁹ If, fearing about his own conscience, he refuses to come to our examination, let him be expelled from the church which he occupies through your effort, and let another bishop be elected to it in his stead according to the canonical decrees.

⁸ See Fröhlich, *Letters of Anselm*, 2:190 n. 5, in which he connects this to the Third Ecumenical Council at Ephesus in 431, presided over by Cyril of Alexandria in opposition to Nestorius of Constantinople. Cyril believed Mary was *Theotokos*—God-bearer, against Nestorius, who believed she was *Christokotos*—Christ-bearer. In accordance with the Council of Nicea decision of 325 that Christ was both man and God, the decision went to Cyril. Schmitt, in his edition of the letters, *Opera Omnia*, 4:128 does not comment on this in his footnotes.

⁹ By his oath supported by six co-jurors of his own order.

This page has been left blank intentionally

Documents for Chapter 3:
Anselm's Election: Primalia Theory

a. Epistle 153, A Roberto duce Normanniae (from Robert duke of Normandy, approval of Anselm's election)

Robertus, dux Normannorum: Anselmo, venerabili abbati, vitae perennis frui collegio.

Legationem fratris mei, regis Anglorum, suscipiens, qua vos archiepiscopatum Cantuariensis ecclesiae praeficere mandavit, tanti viri nolens petitioni resistere, vix tamen parui, sciens procul dubio vos universali ecclesiae pernecessarium fore patriaeque et mihi. Unde vestram commoneo dilectionem, voluntati fratris mei satisfaciens, quatenus archiepiscopatum Cantuariæ, tanto dignus honore, ut revera credo, suscipere ne formidetis, mandans me non solum concedere, verum etiam vitam moresque vestras cognoscendo prae omnibus desiderare. Valet.

b. Epistle 154, A Willelmo archiepiscopo Rotomagensi (from William archbishop of Rouen, approval of Anselm's election)

Frater Willelmus archiepiscopus Rotomagensis: suo domino et amico, reverendo abbati Anselmo, dei benedictionem et nostram.

De iis quae de vobis a me rex quaesivit, et de quibus ipse mihi scripsistis, sicuti de tanta re decuit, hucusque diu multumque pertractavi et amicorum meorum ac vestrorum super hoc consilium quaesivi. Qui utrumque voluissent, si possibile fuisset: et vestram semper ut olim habere praesentiam, et non facere unde offenderent voluntatem divinam. Sed quia ad hoc res venit, ut utrumque impleri nequeat: sicut dignum est, divinam voluntatem nostrae praeponimus et nostram voluntatem divinae subicimus, atque ex parte dei et sancti Petri omniumque amicorum meorum ac vestrorum, qui secundum deum vos diligunt, iubeo ut pastoralem curam Cantuariensis ecclesiae et ecclesiastico more benedictionem episcopalem suscipiatis, oviumque vestrarum vobis—ut credimus—divinitus commissarum saluti deinceps invigiletis. Valet, viscera mea.

a. Epistle 153, A Roberto duce Normanniae (from Robert duke of Normandy, approval of Anselm's election)

Robert, duke of the Normans: To Anselm, venerable abbot, may you enjoy the company of everlasting life.

Receiving the legation of my brother the king of the English, by which he commanded me to appoint you as head of the archiepiscopate of the church of Canterbury, I did not wish to resist the petition of so great a man, although I obeyed with little enthusiasm, knowing without doubt how necessary you are to the entire church, to the fatherland [Normandy] and to me. Hence, satisfying the will of my brother, I enjoin to your belovedness that you must not fear to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury, which is worthy of such great honor, as I truly believe. I tell you that not only have I agreed to this, but truly, knowing your life and character. I desire it above all else. Farewell.

b. Epistle 154, A Willelmo archiepiscopo Rotomagensi (from William archbishop of Rouen, approval of Anselm's election)

Brother William, archbishop of Rouen, to his lord and friend the reverend abbot Anselm, blessings of God and our own.

On those things which the king has asked me for concerning you, and about which you yourself have written to me, I have reflected long and deeply until now, and I have sought the counsel of my and your friends concerning this, just as is right in such important matters. They would wish both things, if it were possible: both ever to have your presence here as in the past, and also not to do anything that might offend God's will. But since it has now come to this, that these wishes cannot both be satisfied, as is proper we prefer God's will to our own, and we submit our will to God's, and on behalf of God and St. Peter and of all my friends and yours who love you next after God, I order that you undertake the pastoral care of the church of Canterbury and receive the episcopal blessing according to the custom of the Church, and that henceforth you watch over the welfare of your sheep, which, as we believe, have been committed to you by God. Farewell, my heart.

**c. Epistle 156, Ad Baldricum priorem ceterosque monachos Beccenses
(to Prior Baudry and the monks of Bec, explaining his mission)**

Suis dilectissimis, domno priori Baldrico et aliis servis dei in Beccensi coenobio commanentibus: servus et conservus eorum frater Anselmus divino semper regi consilio et protegi auxilio.

Quamvis divina dispositio me a vobis corporaliter non sine gravi pioque cordis mei dolore separet, oro tamen deum, ut dilectio, qua ipso dante anima mea vos in utero suo complectitur, indissolubilis perseveret. Per quam deo propitiante semper vester ero servus, quia semper, quantum deus mihi dabit, ero vestris utilitatibus intentus

Sic enim vixi iam per triginta tres annos in habitu monachico—tribus scilicet sine praelatione, quindecim in prioratu, totidem in abbatia annis—ut omnes boni me diligere qui me noverunt, non mea industria sed gratia dei faciente, et magis illi qui me interius et familiariter noverunt; nec aliquis in me videret aliquod opus, unde me praelatione delectari cognosceret. Quid ergo faciam? Quomodo propulsabo et extinguiam hanc falsam et odibilem suspicionem, ne animabus eorum noceat qui me propter deum diligebant, caritatem illis minuendo; aut eorum quibus quaecumque consilium aut exemplum meae parvitas prodesse poterat, me peiorem quam sim illis persuadendo; aut etiam horum et aliorum qui me non noverunt et hoc audient, malum illis exemplum proponendo? ...

Cum enim professus sum monachum, abnegavi me ipsum mihi, ut deinceps meus non essem, id est non viverem secundum propriam voluntatem, sed secundum oboedientiam. Vera autem oboedientia aut est deo aut ecclesiae dei, et post deum maxime praelatis. Hanc ergo non abiuravi nec abnegavi, sed potius servavi, cum dixi: “in nomine domini.” Discite itaque quid vobis tunc dedi. Hoc utique, ut me vestro non possem subtrahere propria voluntate servitio nec quaerere ut subtraheret, nisi ea cogente dispositione et oboedientia, quarum prius secundum deum servus eram

**c. Epistle 156, Ad Baldricum priorem ceterosque monachos Beccenses
(to Prior Baudry and the monks of Bec, explaining his mission)**

To his dearly beloved Dom Prior Baudry and the other servants of God living in the abbey of Bec: Brother Anselm, their servant and fellow-servant: may you ever be ruled by God's counsel, and protected by God's help.

Although God's providence separates me from you in body, not without deep and pious grief to my heart, yet I pray God that the love with which, by His gift, my soul embraces you in its womb, may abide indestructibly; by which, through God's grace, I shall always be your servant; since I shall ever, so far as God shall give me the power, be devoted to your interests

I have already lived for thirty-three years in the monastic habit (that is, three without office, fifteen as prior, the same number of years as abbot), in such a way that all honorable people who knew me loved me, not from any efforts of mine but by God's grace, and most of all those who knew me most closely and intimately; nor did anyone perceive any action in me to make them think I delighted in power. What then shall I do? How shall I repel and extinguish that false and hateful suspicion, lest it injure the souls of those who loved me for God's sake by lessening their love; or of those to whom any advice or example of my littleness might be useful, by persuading them that I am worse than I am; or even of these and others who have not known me and will hear this, by setting before them an evil example

For when I professed myself a monk, I denied my own self, so that thenceforth I could not be my own, that is, I could not live according to my own will, but according to obedience; now true obedience is either to God, or to the Church of God, and after God, to the prelates. This obedience, then, I neither abjured, nor denied; but rather fulfilled it when I said "in the name of the Lord." Learn then what it was that I gave you then. This at least: that I could not at my own will withdraw myself from your service, nor seek to be withdrawn from it, unless compelled by that Providence and obedience of which I was first a servant according to God

Dicunt etiam quidam quia et vobis secundum deum datus eram, et quibus recte praelatus eram, non recte me posse auferri ab illis nec me debere concedere. Beatus Martinus secundum deum abbas erat, et tamen monachis est ablatu, et clericis et monachis et laicis viris et mulieribus est praelatus. Petrus apostolus puto quia secundum deum Antiochiae cathedram episcopalem tenebat; nec tamen dicit aliquis quia peccavit, cum eam deserendo studio maioris fructus Romam migravit. An ideo dicendum est quia non diligebant priores discipulos suos, aut quia postea minus eos dilexerunt, aut quia deus contempsit et deseruit eos, quia isti eos corporaliter deseruerunt? Utique non est dicendum. Fratres, non me comparo magnitudini eorum; sed tamen non ideo sum damnandus, si de me facit deus aliquid ad similitudinem eorum

Praesumebam de fortitudine et ingenio meo ad me defendendum; sed fortior et ingeniosior me deus fuit, et ideo praesumptio mea nihil fuit.

... Precor igitur vos, fratres mei dilectissimi, ut non contristemini ultra modum propter absentiam meam. Certe tristitia vestra mea est tristitia, et consolatio vestra mea consolatio est. Non sit in homine spes vestra sed in deo; quia si quid vobis profui, non a me fuit sed ab eo. Multi propter me, et fere omnes Beccum venistis; sed nullus propter me monachus factus est nec propter spem retributionis meae. Vos deo vovistis; ab illo, cui totum dedistis quod habuistis, ab illo expectate totum quo indigetis. ...

De me vos precor ne minus me diligatis, si deus facit de me voluntatem suam; et ne propter hoc perdam, si aliquando volui facere voluntatem vestram, quia nec audeo nec debeo nec possum deo resistere, nec adhuc video quomodo me possim ecclesiae Anglorum subtrahere, nisi deo resistendo.

... Abbatem vestrum ex hac hora nolite me expectare; sed dilectorem vestrum et sollicitum pro vobis, quamdiu vivam, deo servante voluntatem quam mihi de vobis dedit, scitote. Numquam tamen dimittam potestatem ligandi et solvendi et vobis consulendi, quam habui in vobis, quamdiu abbas qui post me erit, et vos qui sub illo eritis, hoc mihi concedetis

Hanc epistolam nostram quibuscumque potestis, pro excusatione falsae de me suspicionis ostendite; et maxime reverendis dominis et patribus meis, qui me propter deum sua gratia dilexerunt, episcopis et abbatibus, de quibus me magis gravat, si de me aliquid suspicando perversum falluntur. Nolo enim dilectionem eorum ullatenus perdere, sed semper eos venerando et diligendo illam mereri et custodire.

Some also say both that I was given to you according to God; and that I cannot lawfully be taken away from those over whom I was lawfully placed, nor ought I to assent to it. The blessed Martin was an abbot according to God, and yet he was taken away from his monks and placed over clerics and monks and lay men and women. I think that Peter the Apostle held the episcopal see of Antioch according to God; yet no one says that he sinned when, deserting it, he went to Rome to seek a greater harvest. Can we therefore say that they did not love their former disciples, or that afterwards they loved them less, or that God scorned and deserted them because they had deserted those others physically? This, at any rate, cannot be said. Brothers, I do not compare myself to their greatness, but still I am not to be condemned if God does something with me in a like manner as with them

I had counted on my strength and cleverness to defend myself; but God was stronger and more clever than me, and therefore my presumption came to naught

Therefore I beg you, my most beloved brothers, that you should not be grieved beyond measure at my absence. Truly your sadness is mine, and your consolation is mine also. Let your hope be not in man, but in God; because if I have been of any use to you, it was not through myself, but through Him. Many of you, and perhaps all, came to Bec because of me; but none of you became a monk because of me, or because of hope of reward from me. You have dedicated yourself to God; Him to whom you have given all you had, expect from Him all you need

For myself, I pray that you will not love me the less if God does His will with me; and that I may not be condemned for that, if I have ever wanted to do your will, because I neither dare, nor ought to, nor can, resist God, and besides I do not see how I could withdraw myself from the English Church except by resisting God ...

From this moment on, do not expect me to be your abbot; but know me to be your loving friend and most anxious for you as long as I live, God keeping firm the affection which He gave me towards you. But I will never give up the power of binding and loosing, and of advising you, which I had over you, so long as the abbot who shall succeed me, and you who will be under him, shall grant it to me

Show this my letter to whomever you can, to clear me from that false suspicion of me; and especially to my reverend lords and fathers, the bishops and abbots, who have loved me for God's sake by their favor. It hurts me most if they are deceived into suspecting something malicious of me. For I do not want to lose their love on any account, but I desire always to deserve and retain it by honoring and loving them.

d. Epistle 170, Ad Wlstanum episcopum Wigorniensem (to Wulfstan bishop of Worcester, finding Canterbury precedents)

Anselmus, servus servorum Christi, vocatus archiepiscopus: dilecto et reverendo episcopo Wigornienſi Wlſtano ſic in arrepto ſanctitatis proposito perseverare, ut mereatur in aeterna beatitudine sine fine regnare.

Sanctitas et sapientia vestra, quae in diuturna aetate per dei gratiam in vobis multum creverunt, et certitudo dilectionis vestrae, quam erga me indubitanter cognovi, hortantur me, ut in negotiis nostris, cum res exigit, ad vestrae reverentiae recurram consilium. Quapropter de quadam calumnia, quam quidam coepiscopus noster, Lundoniensis scilicet, contra antiquam consuetudinem, quam ecclesia nostra libere et quiete possedit in praeteritis et antiquis temporibus usque ad praesens tempus, ingerit mihi, vestrum quaero consilium.

Quippe testante omni genere hominum qui sunt in Cantuariensi diocesi et in aliis episcopatibus, qui sunt circa eandem diocesim, semper archiepiscopus Cantuariae hanc habuit potestatem et consuetudinem, ut intra cuiuscumque episcopi diocesim haberet ecclesia Cantuariae villam aut ecclesiam, eiusdem archiepiscopi proprii iuris esset quidquid de eadem villa vel ecclesia pertineret ad episcopale officium, sive dedicatio sive aliquid aliud. Adhuc vivunt innumerabiles homines qui viderunt antecessorem meum, venerabilis memoriae Lanfrancum archiepiscopum, dedicare ecclesias villarum suarum intra dioceses aliorum episcoporum, ipsis scientibus sine calumnia. Quod etiam sanctus Dunstanus et alii praedecessores mei fecisse probantur, ipsis ecclesiis quas dedicaverunt adhuc stantibus. Hanc dignitatem et potestatem tam diu inconcusse ab ecclesia Cantuariensi possessam conatur hoc nostro tempore praedictus episcopus, suffraganeus scilicet archiepiscopo et primati suo, filius matri suae, auferre et annihilare. Quam ob rem in hac re vestrum peto consilium et auxilium, quatenus ut fidelis filius matri vestrae contra filium, non dicam infidelem, sed volentem eam exhaerere, subveniatis, et si quid scitis quod ad defensionem nostram valeat, litteris vestris nobis studiose intimetis. Valete.

d. Epistle 170, Ad Wlstanum episcopum Wigorniensem (to Wulfstan bishop of Worcester, finding Canterbury precedents)

Anselm, servant of the servants of Christ, called archbishop: to the beloved and reverend Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester; may he persevere thus in the resolution of holiness which he has embraced, that he may merit to reign in eternal blessing without end.

Your holiness and wisdom, which have grown greatly in you in your long life through the grace of God, and the certainty of your love, which I have come to know without doubt that you have toward me, urge me to resort to the counsel of your reverence concerning our business when the circumstances require it. On account of this, I seek your counsel about a challenge [case at law], which one of our fellow bishops, namely the bishop of London, has inflicted upon me against the ancient custom which our church has enjoyed freely and peacefully in past and ancient times up to the present time.

For in fact, according to the testimony of all kinds of people who are in the diocese of Canterbury and in other bishoprics which are around that diocese, the archbishop of Canterbury has always had this power and custom: that within the diocese of any bishop, in which the church of Canterbury might hold an estate or a church, that archbishop would have full ownership of whatever might pertain to the episcopal office about that estate or church, whether it be dedication or anything else. Innumerable people are still living who saw my predecessor, Archbishop Lanfranc of reverend memory, dedicate churches of his own estates within the dioceses of other bishops, with their knowledge and unchallenged. Which they have also proved that St. Dunstan and other of my predecessors have done; and the churches which they dedicated are still standing to this day. This dignity and power, which the church of Canterbury has possessed unshakably for such a long time, the aforesaid bishop is trying now in our time to take away and to destroy—that is, a suffragan against his archbishop and primate, a son against his mother. On account of which I ask your counsel and help in this case, so that you might come to your mother's help as a faithful son against another son, whom I would not call unfaithful, but who wants to disinherit her; and if you know something that might be applicable to our defense, do take care to impart it to us. Farewell.

**e. Epistle 198, Ad Domnaldum, Donatum, ac ceteros episcopos Hiberniae
(to the bishops of Ireland, primatial theory)**

Anselmus, Cantuariensis ecclesiae metropolitanus antistes: reverendis coepiscopis, seniori Domnaldo, Donato ac caeteris in Hiberniae insula pontificali eminentibus dignitate, a deo patre et Iesu Christo, filio eius unico, salutem et perpetuae haereditatis benedictionem.

Odorem religionis vestrae plurimis indiciis agnoscens, calamitates quas patior decrevi potissimum vobis aperire, ut quanto vicinius assistitis creatori, tanto familiarius angustias meas in eius conspectu valeatis indicare, et indicantes compassionis gemitibus ipsius misericordiam mihi impetrare.

Defuncto beatae memoriae praedecessore meo Lanfranco archiepiscopo, cum in Normannia Beccensis monasterii abbas extitissem, unde et praefatus antecessor meus ad regendam ecclesiam, cui deo auctore praesideo, ante me praecesserat, occulto dei iudicio pro utilitatibus ecclesiasticis in Angliam veni. Quo venientem tam rex quam pontifices regnique optimates ad cathedram pontificalem non vocando, non rogando, ut fieri assolet, immo violenter rapiendo pertrahunt, clero et populo acclamantibus in id ipsum, ut nec unus, cui quod gerebatur displiceret, visus fuerit interesse. Denique cum adhuc id nolle nec assentire me debere occlamarem, quod de potestate Normanni ducis, quod de subiectione metropolitana Rotomagensis ipsis ignorantibus ereptus essem: quorum iure effugere enitebar, eorundem, praefati videlicet ducis et archiepiscopi, praecepto onus officii coactus et oboediens accepi. Quo pacto in gradum pontificalem sublimatus idcirco assensi, quia contraire not potui.

**e. Epistle 198, Ad Domnaldum, Donatum, ac ceteros episcopos Hiberniae
(to the bishops of Ireland, primatial theory)**

Anselm, metropolitan bishop of the church of Canterbury, to his reverend fellow bishops Donald, Donatus, and the others who are distinguished by the pontifical dignity in the island of Ireland: May salvation from God the father and Jesus Christ his only son, and the blessing of an eternal inheritance be yours.

Knowing by many signs the sweet scent of your piety, I have made up my mind to lay open to you above all what calamities I am suffering, so that the nearer you stand by the Creator, the more intimately you may be able to disclose my distress to His view, and disclosing it, obtain His mercy for me with sighs of compassion.

When my predecessor Archbishop Lanfranc of blessed memory had died, while in Normandy I was abbot of the monastery of Bec (whence my aforesaid predecessor preceded me to rule the church over which, by God's gift, I am presiding), by the secret counsel of God, I went to England on business of the church. Arriving there, both the king and the bishops and the magnates of the realm dragged me to the episcopal throne, not by calling me to it, not by asking, as is customary, but rather violently seizing me, with the clergy and the people acclaiming it, so that not a single person could be seen present, who was displeased by what was being done. Finally, while I was still screaming that I did not want it and ought not give my assent to it, that I would be torn away from the power of the Norman duke, from the obedience of the archbishop of Rouen without their knowledge, I was forced into the burden of office by the command of those very men, that is the aforesaid duke and archbishop, through whose prerogatives I had struggled to escape; and obeying them, I accepted it. In this manner I was raised to the pontificate, and I assented because I could not go against it.

Proinde infulatus sedule quid Christo, quid eius ecclesiae pro loco, pro officio deberem cogitare coepi, et pastoralis regimine vitia resecare, praesumptores coercere, et quaeque inordinata, ut mea intererat, ad ordinem debitum volui revocare. Qua causa quos adiutores me oportuerat habere in causa dei, terribiliter offensos patior; et quae per me crescere debuerat, me praesente deperit causa dei. Unde, reverendi patres—gemebunde vobis loquens fateor—invenerunt me amarissimae tribulationes, dum et quietem fructuosam me reminiscor perdidisse et infructuosum periculum me considero incurrisse. Ita etenim peccatis meis facientibus actum est ut, qui nostrae se sponte subdiderant ditioni, a nostra sponte resiliant ditione; et qui illis amabilis exstiteram, omnibus ferme odiosus existam. Quapropter, venerandi fratres, filii caritatis aeternae, obsecro vos in nomine eius, qui suos inimicos redemit sanguine suo, orate ut omnibus deus pacem nobis tribuat, inimicos nostros in gratiam convertat, et secundum suam voluntatem nos vivere faciat.

Praeterea, quamquam recte viventem recteque sapientem, pastoralis sollicitudine fraternitatem vestram monere compellor, quatenus viriliter ac vigilantius agat in doctrina dei, canonica severitate, si quid contra ecclesiasticam doctrinam in provinciis suis inventum fuerit, compescens et secundum dei voluntatem cuncta disponens. Si quando vero seu in consecrationibus episcoporum, seu in ecclesiasticorum negotiorum causis, seu quibuslibet aliis rationibus aliquid quod ad sacram religionem pertineat, inter vos ortum fuerit, quod per vos canonice nequeat definiri: caritatis officio id ad notitiam nostram proferri commonemus, quatenus a nobis potius consilium et solatium accipiatis, quam praevaricatores mandatorum dei in iudicium eius incidatis.

Iterum, carissimi, rogamus vos, orate pro nobis, erigite nos de tribulationibus nostris manu vestrae orationis, piis fletibus pulsantes aures clementiae dei. Dominus qui iussit “de tenebris lucem splendescere,” mentibus vestris infundat lucem sapientiae suae, ut quae iubet intelligatis, intelligentes opere compleatis.

Having accordingly been vested with the dignity, I began carefully to consider what was my duty to Christ, to His church, on account of my position, on account of my office, and I wanted by pastoral guidance to repress vices, to restrain law-breakers, and to recall to due order whatever was disorderly, as far as I was concerned. Because of that I suffer the terrible displeasure of those who ought to be my helpers in God's cause; and the cause of God, which ought to advance through me, is going to ruin in my presence. Therefore, reverend fathers—I confess this speaking to you with deep sighs—the most bitter afflictions have come upon me, when I remember that I have lost my fruitful peace, and reflect that I have incurred a fruitless danger. For so it has come to pass through my sins, that those who of their own will placed themselves under my rule, now of their own will have withdrawn from my authority, and I who was beloved by them, am now hateful to almost everyone. Wherefore, venerable brothers, sons of the eternal love, I beseech you in the name of Him who redeemed His enemies by His own blood: pray that God may grant peace to us all, turn the hearts of our enemies to favor, and make us live according to His will.

Moreover, I am forced by pastoral solicitude to warn your fraternity, although you are living rightly and know what is right, that you should act strongly and vigilantly according to God's teaching, with canonical strictness, if something were to be found against the teaching of the Church in your own provinces, restraining and arranging everything according to God's will. But whenever any question about things pertaining to the holy faith should arise among you, which you are unable to settle canonically, whether on the consecration of bishops, or on account of disputes about church business, or for any other reasons, we admonish you, by the charge love lays upon us, that this point should be brought to our knowledge so that you may receive advice and comfort from us rather than incur God's judgment as betrayers of His commandments. Again, best beloved, we implore you, pray for us; raise us out of our afflictions by the hand of your prayers, your pious tears knocking on the ears of God's mercy. May God, who ordered "the light to shine out of darkness,"¹ flood your minds with the light of His wisdom, that you may know what He commands, and knowing it, may fulfill it in deed.

¹ 2 Corinthians 4:6.

This page has been left blank intentionally

Documents for Chapter 4:
An Old Sheep Yoked to a Wild Bull:
Anselm and King William Rufus

a. Epistle 191, Ad Walterum legatum cardinalem episcopum (to the papal legate Cardinal Bishop Walter of Albano, Anselm avoids meeting him)

Domino et reverendo Romanae ecclesiae legato et cardinali episcopo Waltero: Anselmus, vocatus archiepiscopus Cantuariae, fideles orationes et fidele servitium.

Quod mandat mihi prudens vestra sollicitudo, ut aliquo in loco conveniamus de causis ecclesiarum dei fraterno ac caritativo ad invicem consilio acturi et quae corrigenda sunt correcturi: utique secundum intentionem vestram valde laudabile est, et secundum quod expedit valde utile esset, si congruo tempore fieri posset. Sed vestra prudentia non ignorat quia nos duo nihil efficeremus, nisi regi suggestum esset, ut eius assensu et auxilio ad effectum perduceretur quod disponderemus. Est et aliud, quia ego a Cantuarberia¹ elongari nullatenus audeo, quoniam cotidie expectamus ut hostes de ultra mare in Angliam per illos portus, qui Cantuarberiae vicini sunt, irruant. Propter quod dominus meus rex ore suo mihi praecepit, antequam ab illo apud Notingham discederem, et postquam Cantuarberiam redii, mihi mandavit per litteras proprio sigillo signatas, ut Cantuarberiam custodiam et semper paratus sim ut, quacumque hora nuntium eorum, qui litora maris ob hoc ipsum custodiunt, audio, undique convocari iubeam equites et pedites, qui accurrentes violentiae hostium obsistant. Et idcirco de Cantuarria exire non audeo, nisi in illam partem, ex qua hostium expectamus adventum.

¹ Literally, “Kent,” rather than Canterbury.

a. Epistle 191, Ad Walterum legatum cardinalem episcopum (to the papal legate Cardinal Bishop Walter of Albano, Anselm avoids meeting him)

To the lord and reverend legate of the church of Rome and Cardinal Bishop Walter: Anselm, called archbishop of Canterbury, sends faithful prayers and faithful service.

What your prudent solicitude enjoins me, that we should come together in some place in order to transact the causes of the church of God by fraternal and friendly counsel and to correct what ought to be corrected: certainly following your intention is highly commendable, and following what is expedient it would be very useful, if it could be done at a suitable time. But your prudence is not ignorant that we two could effect nothing unless it might be suggested to the king that what we dispose might be carried out in practice with his assent and help. There is also another thing, because I dare in no way to leave Canterbury, since daily we expect that enemies from across the sea will force their way into England through those ports which are in the neighborhood of Canterbury. On account of which my lord the king commanded me by his own mouth before I left him at Nottingham, and after I returned to Canterbury he ordered me through letters signed by his own seal, that I must guard Canterbury and always be prepared, so that at whatever time I hear the message of those who guard the shores of the sea for that same reason, I may order knights and footsoldiers to gather from all around, so that they may rush to resist the violence of the enemy. And for that reason I do not dare to leave Canterbury, except to go in that area from which we expect the coming of the enemy.

Precor igitur sanctitatis vestrae discretionem, quatenus aequo et pacato animo suscipiat has nostras rationabiles et quae infirmari nequeunt, quoniam verae sunt, excusationes. Sciat pro certo vestra reverentia quia eundem animum quem habetis, ut corrigantur quae corrigenda sunt, habeo. Sed exspecto reditum domini mei regis et episcoporum et principum qui cum eo sunt, quatenus illi quae agenda sunt opportune et rationabiliter suggeramus, et sic deo adiuvente eius assensu et auxilio efficacius expleamus quod desideramus. Si tamen vobis placet, ut per dilectissimum fratrem nostrum, reverendum abbatem G., mihi consilium vestrum mandetis, de quibus rebus et quomodo cum rege loqui debeam, hoc libenter suscipio. Sed et si regi monendo consulere aliquid de huiusmodi rebus per eundem abbatem et reverendum episcopum Wentoniae prudentiae vestrae placuerit, laudo et postulo. Valete.

Therefore I pray the discretion of your holiness that you may receive our reasonable and irrefutable (because they are true) excuses with equanimity and tranquility. May your reverence know for certain that I am of the same mind as yours, that what ought to be corrected should be corrected. But I await the return of my lord the king and of the bishops and magnates who are with him, so that we may suggest to him fittingly and reasonably what ought to be done, and in that way, with God's help, we may carry out more efficiently what we desire with His assent and aid. But if you please to send me your counsel through our beloved brother the reverend Abbot G.² about what things and in what manner I ought to speak with the king, I am happy to receive it. But also, if it should please your prudence to admonish the king, counseling him something about such matters through the same abbot and the reverend bishop of Winchester,³ I approve and I request it. Farewell.

² Fröhlich thinks this abbot might be Gerento/Jarento of St. Benigne of Dijon, mentioned in Ep. 302: *Letters of Anselm*, 2:117 n. 5.

³ Walchelin, Bishop of Winchester, 1070–1098. See Ep. 123. Fröhlich, *Letters of Anselm*, 2:117 n. 6.

b. Epistle 192, Ad Walterum legatum cardinalem episcopum (to Cardinal Legate Walter of Albano, Anselm denies his authority in England)

Domino et reverendo episcopo Albanensi et cardinali Waltero: Cantuariensis divina dispositione archiepiscopus Anselmus orationum fidelitatem cum servitio.

Litteris a vestra sanctitate mihi directis, si liceret, plenius quam epistolaris brevitatis patiatur, responderem. Pro temporis tamen opportunitate ad summam sensus illarum breviter, quod ad me attinet, respondeo.

Dicitis quia oportuerat nos loqui simul de vinea domini quae in hoc regno destruitur, ne penitus confunderetur, quoadusque sanctus Petrus apostolus per vicarium suum Urbanum summum pontificem visitaret eam. Hoc utique ego ipse voluissem, si congruo tempore factum esset, id est quando dominus meus rex et episcopi et principes huius regni vobis praesentes aut propinqui erant. Postquam vero licentiam accepistis a rege redeundi Romam, et rex in expeditionem suam cum archiepiscopo Eboracensi et quibusdam aliis episcopis et principibus suis ivit, et vos ab illis et ego a vobis ita discessimus, veluti non nos in hac terra amplius invicem visuri; et postquam rex mihi praecepit, ut illam partem regni sui, in qua maxime irruptionem hostium cotidie timemus, diligenter custodirem et cotidie paratus essem hostibus resistere, si irruerent, sicut in periculo vastandi vel perdendi terram, cum nullo modo auderem me elongare ab urbe in qua eram, nisi versus hostes qui timebantur: tunc monitus ut vobis occurrerem, quatenus colloqueremur de iis quae corrigenda sunt in hoc regno, rationabilem et susceptibilem reddidi causam: quia propter praedictum periculum et praeceptum regis venire non poteram, et nihil efficeremus nos duo absente rege et aliis, quorum assensu et consilio et operatione ad effectum duci posset colloquium nostrum. Ego enim ipse video quae corrigenda sunt, et habeo voluntatem, quam nullus homo mihi potest augere, corrigendi deo adjuvante per assensum et auxilium domini mei regis et aliorum ad quos pertinet, cum locus et opportunitas erit.

b. Epistle 192, Ad Walterum legatum cardinalem episcopum (to Cardinal Legate Walter of Albano, Anselm denies his authority in England)

To the lord and reverend bishop of Albano and Cardinal Walter: Anselm, by divine providence archbishop of Canterbury, sends the faithfulness of his prayers with his service.

If it were feasible, I would respond to the letters which your holiness has sent me, if he would allow it, more fully than the brevity of a letter allows. However, according to the present circumstances, I respond briefly to their essential meaning in so far as I am concerned.

You say that we ought to speak together about the vineyard of the Lord which is being destroyed in this kingdom, lest it be utterly annihilated, until Saint Peter the Apostle through his vicar Urban, the highest pontiff, might visit it. Certainly I too would wish this, if it were done at a suitable time, that is, when my lord the king and the bishops and magnates of this kingdom would be present to you or nearby. After you took leave from the king in order to go to Rome, and the king went on his military expedition with the archbishop of York and some other of his bishops and magnates, and you left them, and I left you, as if we were not to see each other in this land any more; and after the king ordered me that I should diligently guard that part of his kingdom in which daily we especially fear the invasion of the enemy, and that daily I should be prepared to resist the enemy, if he should invade, inasmuch as the land is in danger of being laid waste and lost, while I dared in no way to leave the city in which I was, unless to go against the enemy who is feared; then, ordered that I should come to meet you so that we might speak together about those things which ought to be corrected in this realm, I alleged a reasonable and acceptable excuse: that on account of the aforesaid danger and of the king's order I could not come, and we two could achieve nothing in the absence of the king and others, by whose assent and counsel and action our deliberation might be carried out in practice. Indeed I too see what ought to be corrected, and I have the will, which no man is able to increase in me, of correcting it with God's help through the assent and aid of my lord the king and of others to whom it pertains, when the time and the circumstances are right.

Quod autem conquerimini vos moratos esse velut infructuosam arborem et peregrinum, non habentem adiutorium aut consilium: de aliis vos scitis, de me autem ego scio quia non prohibui vos fructificare, neque meum auxilium aut consilium vobis pro ratione et possibilitate mea denegavi tempore fructificandi. Quod vero quaeritis a me, cur et qua iustitia episcopi alii me abnegantes a me discesserunt, nec sunt reversi dignam agentes paenitentiam: hoc potius ab illis quaerendum erat quam a me. Ego enim nescio me fecisse, cur hoc facere deberent. Reversi tamen hactenus sunt, ut illam oboedientiam, quam Cantuariensi sedi promiserant, se mihi servaturos faterentur.

Dicitis quosdam illorum vobis dixisse ideo non offendisse in me, quia permisi me a catholica ecclesia transferri ad scismaticos et ab illis consecrari—si fieri, sicut additis, potest—et a scismatico rege investituram accepisse et illi fidelitatem et hominum fecisse, quos omnes sciebam esse scismaticos et divisos ab ecclesia Christi et a capite meo Urbano pontifice, quem ipsi me audiente abnegabant. Certe nec sciebam nec scio eos scismaticos aut sic divisos ab ecclesia fuisse, ut dicunt. Et si aliquis eorum qui hoc vobis dicunt me praesente hoc diceret, ostenderem rationabiliter non ita esse. Illi enim non abnegabant canonicum Romanum pontificem, quicumque esset, nec Urbanum negabant esse pontificem; sed dubitabant propter illam quae mundo nata est dissensionem, et propter dubitationem illum suscipere quasi certum differebant, nec ullum iudicium eos ab ecclesia segregaverat, et omnino oboedientiam Romanae sedis tenere se fatebantur, et sub professione oboedientiae Romani pontificis me consecraverunt. Denique dominus papa sciebat me esse consecratum et a quibus, et cui regi feceram quod feci; et tamen pallium quod archiepiscopus Cantuariae solet habere, mihi per vestram caritatem, non ut scismatico sed ut accepto, non ut reprobans sed ut approbans misit, et sic quod de me factum erat confirmavit. Ipse huius confirmationis auctor; et domnus Walterus, episcopus Albanensis et cardinalis, haec eadem sciens, minister eius et executor. Si vobis haec calumnia attendenda videtur: cur eam ante pallii concessionem mihi tacuistis? Si negligenda putatur: vos iudicate quam diligenter sit a vobis inculcanda.

However, as to your complaint that you have stayed like an unfruitful tree and a stranger, having neither aid nor counsel: as for the others you know, but for my part I know that I have not kept you from fructifying, nor have I denied my aid and counsel to you according to my understanding and resources when it was time for fructifying. But as to what you inquire from me, why and by what right the other bishops left me denying me and did not return doing proper penance: This you should ask them rather than me. For I do not know to have done anything to make them do so. Nevertheless they have returned now, so that they acknowledge that they will conserve that obedience to me, which they promised to the see of Canterbury.

You say that certain of them have said to you that they did not commit an offense towards me, because I had permitted myself to be transferred from the Catholic church to the schismatics and to be consecrated by them—if that were possible, as you add—and that I accepted investiture from a schismatic king and did fealty and homage to him, when I knew them all to be schismatics and separated from the Church of Christ and from my head the pontiff Urban, whom they themselves denied in my presence. Certainly I did not know nor do I know them to be schismatics or separated from the Church so as they say. And if some of those who say this to you were to say this in my presence, I would show reasonably that it is not so. For those men did not deny the canonical Roman pontiff, whoever he might be, nor did they deny Urban to be pontiff; but they doubt on account of the dissension which has been born to the world, and on account of their doubt they delayed to accept him for certain, nor did any judgment separate them from the Church, and they acknowledged themselves totally to hold obedience to the see of Rome, and they consecrated me under profession of obedience to the Roman pontiff. Finally, the lord pope knew me to be consecrated, and by whom, and to what king I did what I did; and yet he sent the pallium, which the archbishop of Canterbury is accustomed to wear, to me through your dearness, not as to a schismatic but to a favored one, not as reproving, but as approving, and so he confirmed what was done about me. He himself is the author of this confirmation; and Dom Walter, bishop of Albano and cardinal, knowing these same things, is his assistant and delegate. If it seems to you that this charge ought to be considered: why did you not tell me about it before the concession of the pallium? If you think it should be disregarded: judge for yourself how diligently you ought to insist upon it.

Plura possem adhuc dicere ad infirmandum verbum “malitiae” eorum, qui hoc quod dicitis vobis obtendunt “ad excusandas excusationes in peccatis;” sed sapientiam vestram scio non indigere apertae rei multiplici ostensione. Videat igitur prudens simplicitas et simplex prudentia vestra, qualiter super haec quae dixi suscipere et exaggerare debeat confictas calumnias et calumniosas confictiones adversum me ab illis, qui fecerunt contra me pro excusatione sua, ne videamini velle infirmare quod auctoritate domini papae et vestra executione non ignoranter est confirmatum. Nempe non sic accepi teste regni Angliae nomen domini Urbani papae in vanum, ut hoc me ab illo vel a fidelibus eius meruisse cognoscam.

Dicitis vos causam meam teste deo defendisse quantum potuistis, et ea occasione negotium propter quod venistis impeditum usque nunc. Pro bona quidem voluntate defensionis gratias ago, impedimentum autem hac occasione factum vobis utique nescio. Et si rei medulla diligenter consideratur sicut potest, et prudentia vestra me defendit quantum potest: certus sum quia conscientia vestra in iis quae supra dicta sunt accusare me non potest. Quod, sicut dicit, nec mecum nec cum aliis loqui, sicut voluit, potuit vestra reverentia carens oboedientia Romanae ecclesiae: sciat ipsa cur non potuit; ego autem scio me diu et multum desiderasse et exspectasse loqui vobiscum, antequam possem; et cum tandem potui, non tantum potuisse quantum volui.

Rogatis me ut fratres nostros Cantuariensis ecclesiae quiete ac pacifice possidere dimittam res suas. Ad quod respondeo quia nullus magis desiderat quietem ac pacem illorum quam ego, nec magis sollicitus est pro utilitate eiusdem ecclesiae; et idcirco voluntas mea est, ut res eius deo annuente disponam ad utilitatem praesentem et futuram, prout melius sciam et potero. Valetate beatitudo vestra, et dignetur deum, ut me et omnes actiones meas dirigat, orare.

I might still say more to refute the “evil” word of those who allege that which you say “to make excuses in sin;” but I know your wisdom does not need multiple evidence of a manifest matter. Therefore your prudent simplicity and your simple prudence should reflect upon how, with respect to what I have said, you ought to accept and pile up the fabricated falsehoods and false fabrications against me from those who acted against me to excuse themselves, lest you might seem to wish to invalidate that which was confirmed knowingly by the authority of the lord pope and by your implementation. To be sure, the English realm is my witness that I did not accept the name of the lord Pope Urban in vain, so that I should learn that I deserved this from him or from his faithful men.

You say that God is your witness that you have defended my cause as much as you were able, and for that reason the business on account of which you came has been obstructed up to now. For your good will to defend me I do indeed thank you, but I have no knowledge whatsoever of any obstruction having been done towards you because of that. And if the heart of the matter is considered carefully, such as it might be done, and your prudence defended me as much as you were able, I am certain that your conscience can not accuse me concerning the aforementioned matters. As to what your reverence says, that you could not speak as you wished either with me or with others, lacking obedience to the Roman church; may you know yourself why you could not; on the contrary, I know that for a long time and very much, I desired and hoped to speak with you, before I was able to do so. And when at last I could, I could not speak as much with you as I wanted to.

You ask me that I allow our brothers of the church of Canterbury to enjoy their possessions quietly and peacefully. To which I respond that no one desires their peace and quiet more than I, nor is anybody more concerned about the welfare of that church; and for that reason it is my will that, with God’s approval, I shall arrange its property for its present and future welfare as best I know and may. Farewell, your blessedness, and deign to pray to God that he may direct me and all my actions.

c. Epistle 206, Ad Urbanum papam (in HN p. 91 [95]) (to Pope Urban, summarizing problems with Rufus)

Domino et patri cum amore reverendo et cum reverentia amando, summo pontifici Urbano: frater Anselmus, servus ecclesiae Cantuariae, debitam subiectionem et orationum devotionem.

Novimus, domine reverende et pater diligende, quod dominus noster Iesus Christus sublimavit sanctitatem vestram in ecclesia sua ad consulendum et subveniendum iis, qui ad supernae patriae requiem anhelantes in huius saeculi exsilio diversis fatigantur tribulationibus. Hac igitur spe et consideratione ego humilis servus vester in angustiis cordis mei ad sinum paternae et apostolicae pietatis vestrae per exhibitionem praesentiae meae confugere disposui; sed hoc utique facere non possum, sicut desidero. Cur autem non possim, per praesentium latorem cognoscetis. Quoniam ergo per memetipsum praesentiam vestram secundum desiderium meum adire nequeo, per litteras, ut possum, clementiae vestrae angustias meas insinuo, quatenus eius consolatione eadem angustiae mitigentur, et anima mea desideratam tranquillitatem per affectum vestrae compassionis se adipisci gratuletur. Tanta enim est cordis mei tribulatio, ut nec verbis nec litteris sufficiam illam exprimere; sed oro deum, qui novit occulta, ut eam vos intelligere faciat, et “per viscera misericordiae” suae viscera vestra ad eius miserationem secundum desiderium et necessitatem meam commoveat. De hac tamen mea necessitate et meo desiderio aliqua aperio, per quae vestram prudentiam posse intelligere quid mihi expediat, non dubito.

c. Epistle 206, Ad Urbanum papam (in HN p. 91 [95]) (to Pope Urban, summarizing problems with Rufus)

To his reverend lord and lovable father, the supreme pontiff Urban: Brother Anselm, servant of the church of Canterbury, sends his due deference and the devotion of his prayers.

We know, reverend lord and lovable father, that Our Lord Jesus Christ has raised your holiness high in his church to give counsel and support to those who, while yearning for the peace of their heavenly fatherland, are being harassed with all kinds of troubles in the exile of this world. With this hope and thought, I your humble servant, in the distress of my heart had decided to take refuge to the bosom of your paternal and apostolic piety by presenting myself in person. But by no means can I do this as I desire. But the reason why I cannot, you will learn from the bearer of this letter. Therefore, seeing that I am unable to approach your presence in person according to my desire, I am bringing my troubles to the notice of your clemency by letters as best I may, so that those troubles may be eased by your comforting, and my soul may rejoice in obtaining the peace for which it yearns through the favor of your compassion. For so great is the affliction of my heart that I am unable to express it either by words or letters. But I pray to God, who knows what is hidden, that He will cause you to understand it, and that “through the bowels of His mercy”⁴ He will move your heart to compassion towards it according to my desire and need. Nevertheless I disclose some of that need and of that desire of mine, through which I do not doubt that your prudence will be able to understand what is useful for me.

⁴ Luke 1:78.

Notum est multis, mi pie pater, qua violentia et quam invitus et quam contradicens captus sim et detentus ad episcopatum in Anglia, et quomodo obtenderim repugnantiam ad huiusmodi officium naturae, aetatis, imbecillitatis et ignorantiae meae, quae omnino omnes saeculi actiones fugiunt et inconsolabiliter execrantur, ut nullatenus illas tolerare possim cum salute animae meae. In quo archiepiscopatu iam per quatuor annos manens nullum fructum feci, sed immensis et execrabilibus tribulationibus animae meae inutiliter vixi, ut cotidie magis desiderarem mori extra Angliam quam ibi vivere. Nam si ita vitam praesentem, sicuti eram, ibi finirem, plus videbam animae meae damnationem quam salutem. Videbam enim multa mala in terra illa, quae nec tolerare debebam nec episcopali libertate corrigere poteram. Ipse quoque rex faciebat quaedam quae facienda non videbantur de ecclesiis, quas post obitum praelatorum aliter quam oporteret tractabat. Me etiam et ecclesiam Cantuariensem multis modis gravabat. Terras namque ipsius ecclesiae, quas post mortem archiepiscopi Lanfranci, cum in manu sua archiepiscopatum teneret, militibus suis dederat, mihi, sicut eas idem archiepiscopus tenuerat, non reddebat, sed insuper alias secundum libitum suum me nolente dabat. Servitia gravia et antecessoribus meis inusitata, ultra quam ferre possem aut pati deberem, a me exigebat. Legem autem dei et canonicas et apostolicas auctoritates voluntariis consuetudinibus obrui videbam. De his omnibus, cum loquebar, nihil efficiebam, et non tam simplex rectitudo quam voluntariae consuetudines obtendebantur.

Sciens igitur quia, si haec ita usque in finem tolerarem, in damnationem animae meae successoribus meis tam pravam consuetudinem confirmarem nec de his placitare poteram—nullus enim aut consilium aut auxilium mihi ad haec audebat dare—: petii a rege licentiam adeundi vestram paternitatem, quatenus illi et cordis mei angustias ostenderem, et deinde eius consilio et auxilio quod salubrius esset animae meae agerem. Qua de re iratus petiit, ut de huius licentiae petitione quasi de gravi offensa illi satisfacerem, et securum illum facerem me deinceps nullo modo requisitum pro aliqua necessitate apostolicum, nec saltem inde locuturum; aut si umquam hoc facturus eram, in praesenti hoc facerem. Sic itaque mare transivi intentione ad vos veniendi. Quod, sicut dixi, facere non possum.

It is known to many, my pious father, by what violence and how unwilling and how protesting I was seized and detained for the episcopate in England, and how I pleaded the loathing of this kind of office of my natural inclination, my age, my weakness and my ignorance, which utterly shun and inconsolably abhor all the activities of the world, so that in no way could I endure them while preserving the salvation of my soul. And now I have been in that archiepiscopate for four years without bearing any fruit, but I have lived uselessly in immense and horrible troubles to my soul, so that daily I desire to die outside of England rather than to live there. For if I were to end this present life there, such as I was, I foresaw the damnation of my soul rather than its salvation. For I saw many evils in that land which I ought not to tolerate, nor was I able to correct them with the freedom of a bishop. Moreover the king himself did things which ought not to be done with the churches, which he treated far from properly after the death of their prelates. Me too, and the church of Canterbury, he vexed in many ways. For the lands of that church, which he gave to his knights after the death of Archbishop Lanfranc, when he held them in his hand, he did not restore to me as that archbishop had held them, but moreover he gave away others according to his own desire, against my will. He required from me heavy services that were not customary to my predecessors, beyond what I ought to tolerate or to endure. On the other hand, I saw the laws of God and the canonical and apostolic authorities flouted by arbitrary customs. When I spoke out about all these things, I achieved nothing, and simple equity was not pleaded as much as arbitrary customs.

Knowing therefore that, if I were to tolerate these things until the end, I would confirm such a depraved custom for my successors to the damnation of my soul, nor could I sue about these matters—for no one dared to give me either counsel or aid for that—: I sought the king's leave to go to your paternity in order both to disclose the distress of my heart to you, and thereupon to confer with your counsel and aid about what might be most healthful for my soul. Furious at this, he demanded that I should make amends to him for requesting this permission, as if it were a grave offense, and that I should give him assurance that I would never more seek to go to the apostolic see for any reason, nor even talk of it; or if I were ever to do so, I had better do it now. And so I crossed the sea with the intention of coming to you. Which, as I have said, I am not able to do.

Quoniam autem impossibile est me huiusmodi vitae concordare aut animam meam in tali episcopatu salvari, cum propter rerum quas dixi qualitates, tum propter meas multimodas et sensus et morum et naturae et aetatis imbecillitates: haec est summa supplicationis meae, propter quam ad vos ire volebam, ut, sicut deum animae meae et animam meam deo desideratis, per paternam et apostolicam pietatem, quae cor vestrum inhabitat, animam meam de vinculo tantae servitutis absolvatis, eique libertatem serviendi deo in tranquillitate reddatis, “ne abundantiore tristitia,” sicut iam nimis passa est, “absorbeat,” et de dolore temporali ad aeternum pertrahatur; deinde ut ecclesiae Anglorum secundum prudentiam et auctoritatem apostolatus vestri consulatis. Omnipotens dominus vestram sanctitatem nobis in suae gratiae prosperitate diu servet incolumem et conterat satanam et portas inferi sub pedibus vestris. Amen.

Since, on the other hand, it is impossible for me to agree to a life of this kind, or to save my soul in such an episcopate, both on account of the nature of the things which I have told and because of my various weaknesses, both of understanding and of character and of nature and of age; this is my highest prayer, on account of which I wanted to come to you: that, as sure as you desire God for my soul and my soul for God, you will absolve my soul from the chains of such servitude through the paternal and apostolic piety which inhabits your heart, and that you will restore to it the liberty of serving God in peace, “lest it be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow,”⁵ just as it has already been suffering excessively, and so that it may be led on from temporal grief to eternity. Then may you take counsel for the English Church according to your prudence and the authority of your apostolic office. May almighty God long keep your holiness safe for us in the prosperity of His grace, and crush Satan and the gates of Hell⁶ under your feet. Amen.

⁵ 2 Corinthians 2:7; *S. Benedicti Regula Monasteriorum*, ed. Benno Linderbauer (Bonnae Sumptibus Petri Hanstein (Druck: Pierersche Hofbudidruckeret Stephan Getbel & Co., Altenburg, Thuringia, 1928), 27:3, p. 43.

⁶ See Matthew 16:18; Fröhlich, *Letters of Anselm*, 2:149 n. 15.

d. Epistle 210, Ad Paschalem papam (to Pope Paschal, summarizing problems with Rufus)

Domino et patri reverendo Paschali, summo pontifici: Anselmus, servus ecclesiae Cantuariensis, debitam ex corde subiectionem et orationum, si quid valent, devotionem.

Quod ad vestram celsitudinem tantum moratus sum nuntium mittere, postquam de certa notitia vestrae sublimationis deo gratias agentes gavisus sum, haec fuit causa, quia quidam nuntius regis Anglorum venit ad venerabilem archiepiscopum Lugdunensem pro causa nostra, non tamen afferens quod suscipiendum esset, et audiens responsum archiepiscopi reversus est ad regem, promittens se in proximo Lugdunum rediturum. Hunc expectavi, ut scirem quid vobis de regis voluntate notificare possem, sed non venit. Causam itaque nostram breviter intimo, quia, quando Romae moratus sum, eam domino papae Urbano et multis aliis, sicut scit, ut puto, sanctitas vestra, saepe narravi.

Videbam in Anglia multa mala, quorum ad me pertinebat correctio, quae nec corrigere nec sine peccato meo tolerare poteram. Exigebat enim a me rex, ut voluntatibus suis, quae contra legem et voluntatem dei erant, sub nomine rectitudinis assensum praeberem. Nam sine sua iussione apostolicum nolebat recipi aut appellari in Anglis, nec ut epistolam ei mitterem aut ab eo missam reciperem vel decretis eius oboedirem. Concilium non permisit celebrari in regno suo, ex quo rex factus est, iam per tredecim annos. Terras ecclesiae hominibus suis dabat. In omnibus his et similibus si consilium petebam, omnes de regno eius, etiam suffraganei mei episcopi, negabant se mihi consilium daturos, nisi secundum voluntatem regis. Haec et multa alia, quae contra voluntatem et legem dei sunt, videns petii licentiam ab eo sedem adeundi apostolicam, ut inde consilium de anima mea et de officio mihi iniuncto acciperem.

d. Epistle 210, Ad Paschalem papam (to Pope Paschal, summarizing problems with Rufus)

To the reverend lord and father, the supreme pontiff Paschal: Anselm, servant of the church of Canterbury, sends due deference from his heart and the devotion of his prayers, if they be worth anything.

The reason why I have delayed so long to send a messenger to your highness after we had rejoiced at the certain news of your elevation, giving thanks to God, was that a messenger of the king of the English came to the venerable archbishop of Lyon about our case, however without announcing what was to be undertaken; and hearing the archbishop's answer he went back to the king, promising to return soon to Lyon. I waited for him in order to know what to tell you about the king's disposition, but he never came. I will therefore state our case briefly, for when I stayed in Rome I often told it to the Lord Pope Urban and to many others, as I suppose your holiness knows.

I saw in England many evils, which pertained to me to correct, and which I could neither correct nor tolerate without sinning. For the king required me to give my consent under the cloak of justice to what he willed, which was against the law and will of God. For except by his own command he would not allow the pope to be recognized or proclaimed in England, nor me to send him a letter or to receive one sent by him or to obey his decrees. Since he became king, he has allowed no council to be held in his kingdom, and now this has been going on for thirteen years. He has given the lands of the church to his men. If I sought advice about these and similar matters, everyone in his kingdom, even my own suffragan bishops, refused to give me counsel unless it was according to the king's will. Seeing these and many other things which are against the will and law of God, I asked his leave to go to the apostolic see in order to take counsel for my own soul and for the office that has been imposed upon me.

Respondit rex me in se peccasse pro sola postulatione huius licentiae et proposuit mihi, ut aut de hac re sicut de culpa illi satisfacerem et securum illum redderem, ne amplius peterem hanc licentiam, nec aliquando apostolicum appellarem, aut de terra eius cito exirem. Elegi potius exire quam nefandae rei consentire. Romam veni, ut scitis, et domino papae rem totam exposui. Rex mox ut de Anglia exivi, taxato simpliciter victu et vestitu monachorum nostrorum, totum archiepiscopatum invasit et in proprios usus convertit. Monitus et rogatus a domino papa ut hoc corrigeret, contempsit et adhuc in hoc perseverat. Iam est tertius annus, ex quo sic de Anglia exivi. Pauca quae mecum tuli et multa quae mutuatus sum, quorum adhuc sum debitor, expendi. Sic plus debens quam habens, apud venerabilem patrem nostrum archiepiscopum Lugdunensem detentus, eius benigna largitate et larga benignitate sustentor.

Non hoc dico quasi desiderans redire in Angliam; sed timeo ne mihi vestra sublimitas succenseat, si ei nostrum esse non notifico. Precor igitur et obsecro quanto possum affectu, ut nullo modo me in Angliam redire iubeatis, nisi ita ut legem et voluntatem dei et decreta apostolica voluntati hominis liceat mihi praeferre; et nisi rex mihi terras ecclesiae reddiderit et quidquid de archiepiscopatu propter hoc, quia sedem apostolicam petii, accepit, vel certe quod pro horum digna recompensatione ecclesiae prosit. Aliter enim ostenderem me hominem deo debere praeponere, et iuste spoliatum esse, quia sedem apostolicam volui requirere. Quod satis patet quam noxium exemplum sit posteris et execrabile.

Quaerunt quidam minus intelligentes cur ego regem non excommunico; sed sapientiores et rectum habentes consilium consulunt ne hoc faciam, quia non pertinet ad me utrumque, et querimoniam scilicet et vindictam facere. Denique ab amicis nostris, qui sub eodem rege sunt, mandatum mihi est quia mea excommunicatio, si fieret, ab illo contemneretur et in derisum converteretur. Ad haec omnia auctoritatis vestrae prudentia nostro non eget consilio.

Oramus, ut deus omnipotens faciat omnes actus vestros sibi placere, et ecclesiam suam de vestro regimine et prosperitate diu gaudere. Amen.

The king replied that I had offended against him by the mere request for this leave, and he threatened me that either I should make amends to him for this as for an offence and guarantee him never to ask for that permission again, nor ever to appeal to the pope, or I should leave his realm forthwith. I preferred to depart rather than consent to such evil things. As you know, I went to Rome and told the whole matter to the lord pope. As soon as I had left England, the king took possession of the whole archbishopric and turned it over to his own use, only allowing for the bare food and clothing of our monks. Admonished and requested to correct this by the Lord Pope, he disregarded it and still persists therein. It is now the third year since I left England in that way. I have spent the little I brought with me and much which I have borrowed and still owe. Thus owing more than I possess, being kept at the house of our venerable father the archbishop of Lyon, I am being sustained by his kind generosity and generous kindness.

I say this not as if I desired to return to England, but I fear lest your highness should be angry with me if I did not declare our loyalty to you. Therefore I pray and beseech you with as much love as I am able, by no means to order me to return to England, except in such a way that I may prefer the law and will of God and the apostolic decrees to the will of man; and except the king shall restore to me the lands of the church, and whatever he has taken from the archbishopric because I travelled to the apostolic see; or at least that the church may benefit from a suitable compensation for all this. Because otherwise I would show myself to prefer man to God, and that I was rightly despoiled for wishing to go to the apostolic see. It is plain enough what a harmful and detestable example this would be for the future.

Some less discerning men ask why I do not excommunicate the king; but the wiser and those having right counsel advise me not to do so, since it does not pertain to me to do both—that is, making both the accusation and the punishment. Finally I am told by our friends who are under that king that my excommunication, if it were done, would be defied by him and turned into derision. The prudence of your authority needs no advice from us as to all this.

We pray that almighty God may make all your actions pleasing to Him, and let His church delight in your rule and prosperity for a long time. Amen.

This page has been left blank intentionally

Documents for Chapter 6:
Two Oxen Pulling the Plow of the
Church through the Land of England:
Archbishop Anselm and King Henry I

a. Epistle 212: Ab Henrico rege Anglorum (HN 118) (Henry I's letter inviting Anselm back to England on his coronation)

Henricus, dei gratia rex Anglorum: piissimo patri suo spirituali Anselmo, Cantuariensi episcopo, salutem et omnis amicitiae exhibitionem.

Scias, pater carissime, quod frater meus rex Willelmus mortuus est, et ego, nutu dei a clero et a populo Angliae electus et, quamvis invitus propter absentiam tui, rex iam consecratus, requiro te sicut patrem cum omni populo Angliae, quatenus mihi, filio tuo, et eidem populo, cuius tibi animarum cura commissa est, quam citius poteris, venias ad consulendum. Me ipsum quidem ac totius regni Angliae populum tuo eorumque consilio, qui tecum mihi consulere debent, committo. Et precor, ne tibi displiceat quod regiam benedictionem absque te suscepi, de quo, si fieri posset, libentius eam acciperem quam de alio aliquo; sed necessitas fuit talis, quia inimici insurgere volebant contra me et populum quem habeo ad gubernandum, et ideo barones mei et idem populus noluerunt amplius eam protelari. Hac itaque occasione a tuis vicariis eam accepi.

Missem quidem ad te a meo latere aliquos, per quos tibi etiam de mea pecunia destinassem, sed pro morte fratris mei circa regnum Angliae ita totus orbis concussus est, ut nullatenus ad te salubriter pervenire potuissent. Laudo ergo et mando, ne per Normanniam venias, sed per Witsand. Et ego apud Doveram obviam habebō tibi barones meos et pecuniam ad te recipiendum, et invenies deo iuvante, unde bene persolvere poteris, quidquid mutuo accepisti. Festina igitur, pater, venire, ne mater nostra, Cantuariensis ecclesia, diu fluctuans et desolata, causa tui amplius animarum sustineat detrimenta.

Teste Girardo episcopo et Willelmo Wintoniensi electo episcopo et Willelmo de Warelwast et comite Henrico et Roberto, filio Haimonis, et Haimone dapifero, et aliis tam episcopis quam baronibus. Vale.

a. Epistle 212: Ab Henrico rege Anglorum (HN 118) (Henry I's letter inviting Anselm back to England on his coronation)

Henry, by the grace of God king of the English: to his most pious spiritual father Anselm bishop of Canterbury: greetings and the offer of every form of friendship.

Know, dearest father, that my brother King William is dead, and by God's pleasure I have been elected by the clergy and people of England, and already been consecrated king, although reluctantly on account of your absence; I, together with all the people of England, request you as a father, that you come as swiftly as you can to give counsel to me, your son, and to the same people, the care of whose souls is committed to you. Indeed I entrust myself and the people of the whole kingdom of England to your counsel, and to the counsel of those who ought to counsel me together with you. And I pray that it may not displease you that I received the royal blessing without you, from whom, if it were possible, I would have accepted it more gladly than from any other; but the need was so urgent, because enemies wanted to rise up against me and the people whom I have to govern, and therefore my barons and the same people refused to postpone it any longer. Accordingly, under these circumstances I accepted it from your deputies.

In fact, I would have sent some men to you on my behalf, through whom I would also have dispatched some of my money to you, but because of the death of my brother the whole world around the kingdom of England has become so agitated that it was impossible for them to reach you in safety. Therefore I recommend and enjoin you not to come through Normandy, but through Wissant. And I will have my barons go out to meet you at Dover in order to receive you, with money, and with God's help you will find the wherewithal to pay well whatever loans you have taken. Therefore Father, hasten to come, lest our mother the church of Canterbury, which has long been tottering and abandoned, should sustain further spiritual damage because of you.

Witnessed by Bishop Girard and William, bishop-elect of Winchester, and William de Warelwast and Count Henry and Robert FitzHaimon and Haimo the steward and others, bishops as well as barons. Farewell.

b. Epistle 288, Ad Mathildem reginam Anglorum (to Matilda, queen as substitute ruler of the Church)

Reverendae dominae suae Mathildi, gloriosae reginae Angliae: Anselmus archiepiscopus fideles orationes cum fidei servitio et benedictionem dei et suam, quantum potest.

Gratias ago magnas susceptae vestrae largitioni, sed multo maiores sanctae quam erga me sum expertus dilectioni. Quas quoniam corporis officio nequeo peragere, cordis affectu cupio indesinenter persolvere. Siquidem quantacumque sit vestra corporalis absentia, removeri tamen nequit a mente mea fidelis dilectionis vestrae praesentia. Quapropter desideranter oro et orando desidero, ut deus quod ego per me non valeo, ipse vobis pro me retribuatur, et quantum scit expedire, suam erga vos dilectionem et vestram erga se perficiat.

Quanto affectu possum et quantum de celsitudine vestra audeo praesumere: precor, obsecro, supplico et fideliter consulo, ut ecclesiarum Angliae paci et quieti pietas vestra studeat, et maxime filiis earum imbecillioribus minusque potentibus, in tribulationibus suis et desolationibus, quasi orphanis Christi subveniat, et ad similitudinem evangelicae gallinae illos sub alis protectionis suae consoletur et foveat.

Unctio sancti spiritus vos in omnibus doceat, et quae sibi magis placent et vobis expediunt persuadeat, et post temporale regnum ad aeternum perducat.

b. Epistle 288, Ad Mathildem reginam Anglorum (to Matilda, queen as substitute ruler of the Church)

To his reverend lady Matilda, glorious queen of England: Archbishop Anselm sends faithful prayers with faithful service and the blessing of God and his own, as much as he can.

I give thanks to the generosity undertaken by you, but much more for the holy love which I have experienced toward me. Since I am not able to bring it in person, I wish with my heart's desire to render it incessantly. Therefore, however much you may be absent in person, nevertheless the presence of your faithful love cannot be removed from my mind. On account of which I pray with desire and desire by praying that God Himself reward you for me, as I am unable to do for myself, and that He perfect His love toward you and your love toward Him as much as He knows to be useful.

With as much affection as I can and as much as I dare to presume from your highness, I pray, I beg, I beseech and I counsel faithfully, that your piety be zealous for the peace and quiet of the churches of England, and especially that you aid the weaker and least powerful of their sons in their afflictions and desolations, as if they were orphans of Christ,¹ and that you console and support them under the wings of your protection, in the likeness of the hen of the Gospel.²

May the anointing of the Holy Spirit teach you in all things, and prompt you to do what is most pleasing to Him and useful to you, and may He lead you after the temporal kingdom to the eternal kingdom.

¹ John 14:18.

² Matthew 23:37.

c. Epistle 217, Ad Paschalem papam (to Paschal, request to lessen severity of homage, investiture)

Domino reverendo et patri diligendo Paschali, summo pontifici: Anselmus, servus ecclesiae Cantuariensis, debitam subiectionem et orationum assiduitatem.

Quanto studio mens mea sedis apostolicae reverentiam et oboedientiam pro sua possibilitate amplectatur, testantur multae et gravissimae tribulationes cordis mei, soli deo et mihi notae, quas ab initio episcopatus mei per quattuor annos in Anglia et per triennium in exilio passus sum, quia eiusdem sedis subiectionem abnegare nolui. A qua intentione spero in deo quia nihil est quod me retrahere possit. Quapropter in quantum mihi possibile est, omnes actus meos eiusdem auctoritatis dispositioni dirigendos, et ubi opus est corrigendos volo committere. Qualiter ergo sim ad praesens in Anglia, breviter scribo, quia latoribus praesentium plenius hoc viva voce significandum dimitto.

Postquam revocatus a rege Angliae, qui nunc est, ad episcopatum redii, ostendi decreta apostolica quae in Romano concilio praesens audivi, ne scilicet laicus investituram ecclesiarum daret neque aliquis de manu eius acciperet, aut pro hoc homo eius fieret, nec aliquis praesumentem consecraret; qui vero haec transgrederetur, excommunicationi tanti concilii subiaceret. Quod audientes rex et principes eius, ipsi etiam episcopi, quanta mala hinc processura, quid potius se facturos quam haec decreta suscepturos acclamaverunt, gravor dicere, dicant legati praesentes, qui mecum audierunt. Tandem in me conversi uno sensu pariter omnes affirmaverunt me posse extinguere omne malum, quod ex his decretis processurum asseverant, si precibus episcoporum meas vellem associare, quatenus celsitudini vestrae placeret praedictam sententiam mitigare. Quod si facere recusarem, omne malum quod inde eveniret, mihi imputandum sine ulla mea excusatione iudicarent.

Ne igitur aliquid videar contemnere, aut meo solo sensu vel propria voluntate quicquam facere: nec illos audeo non audire, nec de vestrae sanctitatis dispositione aliquatenus volo exire. Servata igitur apud me reverentia et oboedientia sedis apostolicae, precor ut, quantum dignitas vestra secundum deum permittit, petitioni praedictae, quam vobis legati exponent, iuxta sapientiam vestram condescendatis, et quid me iubeatis in hac re facere, quidquid futurum sit, per legatos praesentes certum me faciatis.

Oramus omnipotentem deum, ut paternitatem vestram diu incolumem in intrega prosperitate ad ecclesiae suae robur et consolationem conservet.

c. Epistle 217, Ad Paschalem papam (to Paschal, request to lessen severity of homage, investiture)

To the reverend lord and beloved father, Paschal, the Supreme Pontiff, Anselm, servant of the church of Canterbury, sends due obedience and constant prayers.

With what devotion my mind to the utmost of its ability embraces the reverence for and obedience to the apostolic see, is proven by the many and grievous afflictions of my heart, which are known only by God and me; which I suffered from the beginning of my episcopate, for four years in England, and for three years in exile, because I refused to deny my obedience to that see. From that devotion I hope in God there is nothing that could withdraw me. Wherefore, so far as it is possible to me, I wish to entrust all my actions to be directed, and where necessary corrected, by the decision of the authority of the apostolic see. As to my present position in England I write briefly, because I leave it to the bearers of this letter to express it more fully by word of mouth.

When I returned to my bishopric after being recalled by the present king of England, I made known the apostolic decrees which I had heard when present at the Roman council, namely, that no layman should give investiture of churches, nor should anyone receive it from his hands, or become his man for it, nor should anyone consecrate one who presumed to do so; but if anyone should infringe this, he should incur the excommunication of so great a council. What the king and his magnates, and even the bishops too, shouted out when they heard this, about what great evils which would thence arise, and what they would rather do than acknowledge these decrees, I am reluctant to tell; let the present messengers tell it, who heard it along with me. At last, turning to me, they all with one accord declared that I could quench all the evil which they claimed would follow from these decrees, if I would join my entreaties to those of the bishops, that it might please your highness to lessen the severity of the aforesaid decision. If I were to refuse to do this, they would declare that every evil which might thence arise would be blamed on me, without anything to excuse me.

Lest therefore I should seem to show any disrespect, or to be doing anything out of my own opinion alone or by my own will, I neither dare not to listen to them, nor do I wish to depart in any way from the decisions of your holiness. Therefore, while preserving my reverence for and obedience to the apostolic see, I pray that so far as your high office allows according to God, you might comply in your wisdom with the aforesaid petition; and that through the present messengers you might give me certainty about what you order me to do in this matter, whatever might happen in the future.

We pray Almighty God that He may long keep your paternity safe in perfect prosperity for the strength and comfort of His church.

d. Epistle 369, Ad Robertum comitem de Mellento (HN 170, 455)
(to Robert count of Meulan, settlement at L'Aigle)

Anselmus archiepiscopus: domino et amico Roberto, comiti de Mellento, salutem.

Vos scitis quia, quando rex et ego convenimus apud castrum Aquilae, dictum fuit quod rex mitteret legatum suum Romam, pro iis in quibus concordare non poteramus nisi per dominum papam. Quod intellexi ut ita fieret, quatenus ante proximam Nativitatem domini legatus rediret. Videtis autem quia dominus meus rex hoc quod tunc dixit facere moratur; sed hoc solum mandat mihi, qui legatum meum cum eius legato mittere volebam, ne mihi displiceat quia suus tantum moratur, nullum mihi constituens terminum, quando venturus est. Unde quidam opinantur et dicunt quia rex non multum curat festinare, ut ego redeam in Angliam, et ecclesia dei, quam deus illi custodiendam commendavit, quae iam fere per tres annos desolata est, suo vivo pastore, eius reditu et praesentia consoletur, et pro consilio animae suae, quo diu privata est, in illis qui hoc amant et desiderant laetificetur.

Quapropter dico vobis quia valde timeo, ne ipse super se provocet iram dei et super eos, quorum consilio differt tam necessariae rei, tam rationabili succurrere, cum ad illum hoc pertineat et facere possit, ut nihil perdat de iis quae secundum deum ad regiam pertinent potestatem. Sicut amicus et sicut archiepiscopus—qualiscumque sim—consulo illi et iis qui circa illum sunt, ut non plus studeant satisfacere voluntati suae quam voluntati dei, quia deus aliquando satisfaciet voluntati suae contra voluntatem illorum, qui hoc faciunt. Consulite ergo illi et vobis, priusquam deus ostendat iram suam, quam adhuc suspendit, exspectans ut humiliemini ad voluntatem suam.

Deus dirigat eum et consiliarios eius ad verum honorem et ad veram utilitatem eius. Amen.

d. Epistle 369, Ad Robertum comitem de Mellento (HN 170, 455)
(to Robert count of Meulan, settlement at L'Aigle)

Archbishop Anselm to his lord and friend Robert count of Meulan, greetings.

You know that when the king and I met together at the castle of L'Aigle, it was said that the king would send his messengers to Rome to deal with those matters in which we were unable to agree except through the lord pope. I understood that this was to be done in time for the messenger to return before next Christmas. But, as you see, my lord the king delays doing what he then said; but he sends me, anxious as I have been to send my messenger with his, nothing but a message that I should not be displeased because his messenger carries so long, without giving me any final date by which he will come. Consequently some people are thinking and saying that the king is not very eager to hasten my return to England, so that the church of God, which God has entrusted to his guardianship, and which although her pastor is living, has now been left desolate for nearly three years, should be comforted by that pastor's return and presence and be gladdened, through those who love and desire this, at the counsel of its soul, of which it has long been deprived.

For this reason I tell you that I very much fear that the king is provoking God's anger against himself and against those on whose advice he is putting off such a necessary matter, such a reasonable succour, when it is his responsibility and he has the power to carry it out without losing anything of those things which belong to the royal power according to God. As friend and as archbishop, whichever I may be, I counsel him and those who are around him not to be more eager to do his own will than to do the will of God, for some day God will do His own will against the will of those who are doing so. Take heed then for him and for yourself, before God manifests His anger, which He still suspends, while waiting for you to humble yourselves to His will.

May God guide [the king] and his counsellors to his true honor and his true advantage. Amen.

e. Epistle 401, Ab Henrico rege Anglorum (HN 184; see GP 127) (from Henry, on his victory at Tinchebrai)

Henricus, rex Anglorum: Anselmo, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, salutem et amicitiam.

Paternitati et sanctitati vestrae significamus Robertum, comitem Normanniae, cum omnibus copiis militum et peditum, quos prece et pretio adunare potuit, die nominata et determinata mecum ante Tenerchebraium acriter pugnasse, et tandem sub misericordia dei vicimus, et sine multa caede nostrorum. Quid plura? Divina misericordia ducem Normanniae et comitem Moritonii et Willelmum Crispinum et Willelmum de Ferreris et Robertum de Stutevilla senem et alios usque quadringentos milites et decem milia peditum in manus nostras dedit et Normanniam. De illis autem quos gladius peremit, non est numerus.

Hoc autem non elationi vel arrogantiae nec viribus meis, sed dono divinae dispositionis attribuo. Quocirca, pater venerande, supplex et devotus genibus tuae sanctitatis advolutus te deprecor, ut supernum iudicem, cuius arbitrio et voluntate triumphus iste tam gloriosus et utilis mihi contigit, depreceris, ut non sit mihi ad damnum et detrimentum, sed ad initium bonorum operum et servitii dei, et ad sanctae dei ecclesiae statum tranquilla pace tenendum et corroborandum, ut amodo libera vivat et nulla concutiatur tempestate bellorum.

Teste Waldrico cancellario apud Wellebof.

e. Epistle 401, Ab Henrico rege Anglorum (HN 184; see GP 127) (from Henry, on his victory at Tinchebrai)

Henry king of the English to Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, greetings and friendship.

We notify your paternity and holiness that on a renowned and ordained day Robert duke of Normandy, with all the forces of knights and of infantry which he was able to collect by begging or buying, fought with me furiously before the walls of Tinchebrai, and in the end by the mercy of God the victory was ours and that without any great slaughter of our men. What more can I say? Divine Mercy has delivered into our hands the duke of Normandy, the count of Mortain, William Crispin, William de Ferrers, Robert de Stuteville the Elder, and others up to four hundred knights and ten thousand infantry, and Normandy itself. Of those killed by the sword there is no numbering.

However, I attribute this not to my own conceit or presumption, nor to my own strength, but to the gift of Divine Providence. Therefore, venerable father, falling at the knees of your holiness, I humbly and devoutly beg you to pray to the heavenly judge by whose decision and will this victory, so glorious and so advantageous, has come to me, that it may not turn out to my harm or detriment but may lead to the beginning of good works and the service of God, and to the preservation and strengthening of the condition of God's holy church in serene peace, so that from now on she may live free and no tempests of war will strike it.

Witnessed by Waldric the chancellor at Quilleboeuf.

**f. Epistle 402, Ad Henricum regem Anglorum et ducem Normannorum
(Anselm's reply)**

Henrico, gratia dei glorioso regi Anglorum et duci Normannorum: Anselmus archiepiscopus fidele servitium cum fidelibus orationibus, et semper ad maiora et meliora crescere et numquam decrescere.

Gaudeo et gratias ago quanto affectu possum deo, a quo bona cuncta procedunt, pro vestra prosperitate et pro vestris successibus. Gaudeo etiam et gratias ago ex intimo corde, quia cum prosperitate terrena sic cor vestrum sua gratia illuminat, ut nihil in beneficiis eius et profectu vestro vobis aut humanis viribus, sed totum eius misericordiae imputetis, et quia pacem et libertatem eius ecclesiae, quantum in vobis est, promittitis.

In quo multum precor et consulo sicut fidelis vester, ut perseveretis, quia in hoc erit robur sublimitatis vestrae. Oro autem ore et corde, quantum valet mens mea, et per me et per alios, deum omnipotentem, quatenus in misericordia gratiae suae, quam vobis coepit impendere, indesinenter persistat, ut de terrena exaltatione post hanc vitam ad caeleste regnum et gloriam aeternam vos perducatur. Amen.

**f. Epistle 402, Ad Henricum regem Anglorum et ducem Normannorum
(Anselm's reply)**

To Henry by the grace of God glorious king of the English and duke of the Normans: Archbishop Anselm sends faithful service with faithful prayers, and may you always increase to bigger and better things and never decrease.

I rejoice, and with as much affection as I can I give thanks to God, from whom all good things proceed, for your good fortune and for your successes. I also rejoice and give thanks from my inmost heart, because along with earthly good fortune His grace so illuminates your heart that you impute nothing among His favours and your success to yourself or to human power, but totally you attribute it all to His mercy, and because you have promised peace and liberty to His church, in so far as it is in your power to do.

I pray and counsel greatly as your faithful man that you persevere in this, since in this will be the strength of your high glory. On the other hand I pray Almighty God with mouth and heart, as much as my mind can, both through me and through others, that He may persist unceasingly in the mercy of His grace, which He has begun to devote to you, so that after this life He may guide you from earthly exaltation to the heavenly kingdom and eternal glory. Amen.

This page has been left blank intentionally

Documents for Chapter 7:
Patriarch of Another World:
The Primacy at its Height:
And the Problem of York

a. Epistle 243, Ad Mathildam reginam Anglorum (to Matilda, as queen bride of the king)

Mathildae, gloriosae reginae Anglorum, reverendae dominae, filiae carissimae: Anselmus archiepiscopus, debitum honorem, servitium, orationes et benedictionem dei et suam quantum potest.

Gratias magnas ago vestrae largitioni, sed multo maiores, de qua munera procedunt, sanctae dilectioni. Quae etiam mihi pia sollicitudine instat, ut in alimentis sumendis corpori largius indulgeam, ne vox et vires ad curam iniunctam mihi deficiant. Nam quoniam auditis me pro ieiunio totius diei, etiam si cotidie fieret, famem non sentire, timetis raucitatem et imbecillitatem mihi corporis evenire. Sed utinam tantum mihi sapientia et potestas quae competit suppeterent, quantum vox et vires quas habeo, ad opus mihi iniunctum sufficerent! Licet enim sic possim sine famis molestia ieiunare, satis tamen possum et volo, cum debeo, quantum expedit corpus alimentis recreare.

Memor est benigna vestra dignatio in epistola sua quod per me sit vestra celsitudo in coniugium legitimum desponsata et ad regni sublimitatem me sacrante coronata. Verum cum de me, qui huius rei minister tantum fidelis, quantum in me fuit, exstiti, hoc tam benigne, tanta gratia recolitis: satis aestimari potest quantas Christo, qui huius doni auctor et largitor est, grates in mente persolvitis.

a. Epistle 243, Ad Mathildam reginam Anglorum (to Matilda, as queen bride of the king)

To Matilda, glorious queen of the English, reverend lady, dearest daughter: Archbishop Anselm sends due honor, service, prayers, and God's and his own blessings, as much as he can.

I give thanks for your generosity, but much greater thanks for the holy love from which your presents proceed. That pious care also urges me to allow myself to take more nourishment for my body, lest my voice and strength should fail me in the office with which I am charged. For as you hear that I do not feel hunger from having fasted all day long, even when doing so for days on end, you fear that hoarseness and feebleness of the body might befall me. But if only I had the necessary wisdom and power to as great an extent as the voice and the strength might suffice for the office with which I am charged! For although I am thus able to fast without being troubled by hunger, I am also able and willing enough to refresh my body with as much food as is necessary when I have to.

In your letter, your kind grace recalls that it was by me that your highness was married in lawful wedlock, and that you were crowned to royal glory by my anointing. Truly, when you recollect this so kindly and with such grace about me, who in this matter was but as faithful servant as I could be, it is easy to appreciate how great thanks you render in your mind to Christ, who is the origin and giver of this gift.

Quas si recte, si bene, si efficaciter ipso actu vultis reddere: considerate reginam illam, quam de hoc mundo sponsam sibi illi placuit eligere. Haec est quam “pulchram” et “amicam” et “columbam” suam vocat in scripturis, et de qua illi dicitur: “astitit regina a dextris tuis.” Haec est, cui de eodem sponso suo Christo dicitur: “Audi, filia, et vide et inclina aurem tuam, et obliviscere populum tuum et domum patris tui, et concupiscet rex decorem tuum.” Quanto enim saecularium conversationem et patris sui, huius scilicet mundi, habitationem contemnendo obliviscitur, tanto pulchrior conspectui sponsi sui et amabilior cognoscitur. Hanc quantum dilexerit ipse probavit, cum se ipsum morti sponte tradere pro eius amore non dubitavit. Hanc, inquam, considerate quomodo exsul et peregrina et quasi vidua ad virum suum cum veris filiis suis gemit et suspirat, exspectans, donec ille de regione longinqua, ad quam abiit “accipere sibi regnum,” veniat, et eam ad regnum suum transferendo omnibus qui eidem amicae bona vel mala fecerint, prout quisque gessit, retribuatur. Qui hanc honorant, cum illa et in illa honorabuntur; qui hanc conculcant, extra illam conculcabuntur. Qui hanc exaltant, cum angelis exaltabuntur; qui hanc deprimunt, cum daemonibus deprimuntur. Hanc exaltate, honorate, defendite, ut cum illa et in illa sponso deo placeatis et in aeterna beatitudine cum illa regnando vivatis. Amen. Fiat.

Now if you want to render Him thanks in deed, rightly, well, and efficiently: consider that queen whom He pleased to take as His spouse from this world. It is she whom He calls His “fair” one and His “love” and His “dove” in Scripture, and of whom it is told to Him: “The queen stood on your right hand.”¹ It is she to whom it is said of her spouse, Christ: “Hearken, O daughter, and see, and incline thy ear: and forget thy people and thy father’s house. And the king shall greatly desire thy beauty.”² For the more she scornfully forgets the ways of the world and the house of her father—that is, of this world—the more beautiful and lovely she will be perceived in the eyes of her spouse. It is she to whom He proved how much He loved her, when He did not hesitate freely to give Himself over to death for love of her. Consider her, I say: how, as an exile and a stranger, almost like a widow, she moans and sighs for her husband together with her true children, waiting until he should come from the far-off land for which he left, in order to “receive for himself a kingdom,”³ and, transporting her to his kingdom, reward all those who treated that “love” well or ill according to the actions of each of them. Those who honor her will be honored with her and in her; those who trample upon her will be trampled down outside her. Exalt, honor and defend her, so that you may please her spouse, God, together with her and in her, and may live reigning with her in eternal bliss. Amen. So be it.

¹ Psalm 44:10.

² Psalm 44:11.

³ See Luke 19:12.

b. Epistle 303, A Paschali papa (Paschal's letter granting the primacy to Anselm and his successors)

Paschalis episcopus, servus servorum dei: venerabili fratri Anselmo, Cantuariensi episcopo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Fraternitatis tuae postulationibus nos annuere tuae sapientiae et religionis persuadet auctoritas. Quondam enim in litteris ab apostolica tibi sede directis Cantuariensis ecclesiae primatum ita tibi plenum concessimus, sicut a tuis constat praedecessoribus fuisse possessum. Nunc autem, petitionibus tuis annuentes, tam tibi quam tuis legitimis successoribus eundem primatum, et quidquid dignitatis seu potestatis eidem sanctae Cantuariensi seu Dorobernensi ecclesiae pertinere cognoscitur, litteris praesentibus confirmamus, sicut a temporibus beati Augustini praedecessores tuos habuisse apostolicae sedis auctoritate constiterit.

Datae Laterani, XVI. Kal. Decembris, indictione XII.

c. Epistle 304, A Paschali papa (Paschal's earlier letter granting the primacy and the pallium to Anselm)

Paschalis episcopus, servus servorum dei: venerabili fratri Anselmo, Cantuariensi episcopo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Tibi, reverentissime frater Anselme, et per te sanctae Cantuariensi ecclesiae praesentis decreti pagina confirmamus quidquid parochiarum vel metropolitano vel episcopali iure ad eandem cognoscitur ecclesiam pertinere. Quidquid praeterea dignitatis aut honoris post beati Augustini tempora eidem Dorobernensi ecclesiae sedis apostolicae concessit auctoritas, nos quoque tuae et tuorum legitimorum successorum strenuitati concedimus; nimirum omnia quiete ac libere possidenda, quae praedecessor vester Lanfrancus, memoriae reverendae antistes, occupatorum manibus erepta restituit, restituta possedit in ecclesiis, in villis, silvis, et pratis, in aquis aquarumque discursibus, in terra vel mari, salvis videlicet ceterorum metropolitanorum privilegiis.

Pallii vero usum ita fraternitas tua obtineat, sicut a tuis praedecessoribus habitum constat, temporibus per anni spatium Romanae sedis institutione distinctis.

b. Epistle 303, A Paschali papa (Paschal's letter granting the primacy to Anselm and his successors)

Bishop Paschal, servant of the servants of God: to his venerable brother Anselm, bishop of Canterbury, greetings and apostolic blessings.

The authority of your wisdom and piety persuades us to agree to the requests of your fraternity. Formerly, indeed, in letters addressed to you from the apostolic see, we have conceded the primacy of the church of Canterbury to you, as full as it is known to have been possessed by your predecessors. Now, however, assenting to your petitions, by the present letter we confirm to you as well as to your legitimate successors the same primacy, and whatever dignities or powers that are known to pertain to that same holy church of Canterbury or Dorobernia⁴ just as it is known to have been held by your predecessors since the time of St. Augustine by the authority of the apostolic see.

Granted at the Lateran, November 23, the 12th indiction (1103).

c. Epistle 304, A Paschali papa (Paschal's earlier letter granting the primacy and the pallium to Anselm)

Bishop Paschal, servant of the servants of God: to his venerable brother Anselm, bishop of Canterbury, greetings and apostolic blessing.

To you, most reverend brother Anselm, and through you to the holy church of Canterbury, we confirm by the text of this present decree whatever diocesan districts are known to pertain to the same church either by metropolitan or by episcopal right. Moreover, whatever rights and honors the authority of the apostolic see has granted to that same church of Dorobernia since the times of blessed Augustine, we also grant to your vigor and to the vigor of your lawful successors; indisputably you ought to possess peacefully and freely everything which your predecessor Lanfranc, bishop of reverend memory, restored, seizing it from the hands of usurpers, and having restored it, possessed in churches, estates, woods and meadows, in waters and watercourses, in land or sea, of course without infringing the privileges of the rest of the metropolitans.

Certainly your fraternity may maintain the use of the pallium in the same way as it is known to have been held by your predecessors, at the times of year specified by ordinance of the Roman see.

⁴ Another, older, name for Canterbury.

d. Epistle 283, Paschalis papa ad Gerardum archiepiscopum Eboracensem (HN 200 [231]) (Paschal's letter ordering York to swear obedience to Canterbury)

Paschalis episcopus, servus servorum dei: venerabili fratri Gerardo, Eboracensi episcopo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Quamquam prave adversum nos, immo contra matrem tuam, sanctam Romanam ecclesiam, te non ignoremus egisse, praesentibus tamen litteris tibi mandamus, ut professionem tuam venerabili fratri nostro Anselmo, Cantuariensi episcopo, facere non negligas. Audivimus enim Thomam, quondam praedecessorem tuum, ex hac eadem re contentionem movisse; et cum in praesentia domni Alexandri secundi papae ventilata esset, ex praecepto eius, definitione habita post varias quaestiones, Lanfranco, praedecessori suo, et successoribus suis eandem professionem fecisse. Unde et nos, quod tunc temporis definitum est, volumus, auctore deo, firmum illibatumque servari.

Data Beneventi, pridie Idus Decembris.⁵

e. Epistle 399, Ab Henrico rege Anglorum (Henry to Anselm at Bec granting all Canterbury's privileges)

Henricus, dei gratia rex Anglorum: Anselmo, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, carissimo patri suo, salutem et amicitiam.

Sciat vestra benigna paternitas, quia doleo et nimium intra me contristor prae dolore corporis vestri et infirmitate. Et scitote nisi quia vos opperiebar, iam fuissem in Normannia. Gauderem enim, si prius vos recepissem, quam a regione mea recessissem. Nunc autem precor vos, sicut patrem filius, ut paulisper plus indulgeatis naturae corporeae vestrae, et ne ita affligatis corpus vestrum. Volo autem et praecipio, ut ubique per omnes possessiones meas Normanniae imperetis sicut per vestras dominicas, et gaudebit cor meam, si hoc ipsum feceritis. Nunc vero opperimini me in Normannia. Ego enim noviter transibo.

Teste Walderico apud Windeles Horas.

⁵ 1102.

d. Epistle 283, Paschalis papa ad Gerardum archiepiscopum Eboracensem (HN 200 [231]) (Paschal's letter ordering York to swear obedience to Canterbury)

Bishop Paschal, servant of the servants of God: to his venerable brother Gerard bishop of York, greetings and apostolic blessing.

Although we are not ignorant of the fact that you have acted improperly towards us, nay rather your mother the holy church of Rome, nevertheless by the present letter we order you that you must not neglect to make your profession to our venerable brother Anselm bishop of Canterbury. For we have heard that Thomas, your late predecessor, raised a dispute about that very matter; and when it had been debated in the presence of the Lord Pope Alexander II, sentence was passed after various legal actions, and on [the pope's] order he made the same profession to Lanfranc, [Anselm's] predecessor, and to his successors. Hence we too wish, by God's authority, that what was decided at that time should be upheld firmly and unimpaired.

Given at Benevento, December 12, 1102.

e. Epistle 399, Ab Henrico rege Anglorum (Henry to Anselm at Bec granting all Canterbury's privileges)

Henry by the grace of God king of the English: to Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, his dearest father, greeting and friendship.

May your paternal kindness know that I grieve and I am excessively sad within myself on account of the pain and infirmity of your body. And know that if I had not been awaiting you, I would already be in Normandy. For I would be glad if I might receive you before I leave my kingdom. But now I pray you, as a son praying his father, that for a little while you would yield more to the nature of your body, and that you would not afflict your body the way you do. Moreover I wish and I order that throughout all of my possessions in Normandy, you should exercise authority as if in your own domains, and my heart will be glad if you will do this. Now indeed await me in Normandy, for I will go there next.

Witnessed by Waldric, at Windsor.

f. Epistle 235, Ad Baldewinum regem Hierosolymorum (to Baldwin king of Jerusalem)

Baldewino, gratia dei regi Ierusalem, carissimo domino: Anselmus, servus ecclesiae Cantuariensis, per regnum terrenum ad caeleste sublimari.

Benedictus deus in donis suis et “sanctus in omnibus operibus suis,” qui vos ad regis dignitatem sua gratia in illa terra exaltavit, in qua ipse dominus noster Iesus Christus, per se ipsum principium Christianitatis seminans, ecclesiam suam, ut inde per totum orbem propagaretur, novam plantavit, quam propter peccata hominum iudicio dei ab infidelibus diu ibidem oppressam, sua misericordia nostris temporibus mirabiliter resuscitavit. Ego itaque, memor magnae dilectionis et beneficiorum, quae in patre et matre vestra et filiis eorum erga me sum expertus: exprimere scribendo nequeo quantum de gratia dei, quam in fratre vestro et vobis, eligendo vos ad illam dignitatem, ostendit, gaudeo, et quanto affectu ut vos, qui fratri successistis, non tam vobis quam deo regnare studeatis desidero.

Unde, mi carissime domine, etiamsi mea exhortatione non egeatis, tamen ex cordis abundantia ut fidelissimus amicus precor vos, moneo, obsecro et deum oro, quatenus sub lege dei vivendo voluntatem vestram voluntati dei per omnia subdatis. Tunc enim vere regnatis ad vestram utilitatem, si regnatis secundum dei voluntatem. Ne putetis vobis, sicut multi mali reges faciunt, ecclesiam dei quasi domino ad serviendum esse datam, sed sicut advocato et defensori esse commendatam. Nihil magis diligit deus in hoc mundo quam libertatem ecclesiae suae. Qui ei volunt non tam prodesse quam dominari, procul dubio deo probantur adversari. Liberam vult deus esse sponsam suam, non ancillam. Qui eam sicut filii matrem tractant et honorant, vere se filios eius et filios dei esse probant. Qui vero illi quasi subditae dominantur, non filios sed alienos se faciunt, et ideo iuste ab haereditate et dote illi promissa exhaeredantur. Qualem illam constituētis in regno vestro in hac nova resuscitatione, talem illam diu suscipient et servabunt in futura generatione. Quod autem ego vobis persuadere desidero, oro deum omnipotentem, ut ipse persuadeat, et sic vos in via mandatorum suorum deducat, ut ad gloriam regni caelestis perducat. Amen.

f. Epistle 235, Ad Baldewinum regem Hierosolymorum (to Baldwin king of Jerusalem)

To his dearest lord Baldwin, by the grace of God king of Jerusalem, Anselm, servant of the church of Canterbury: may you be raised through the earthly kingdom to the heavenly kingdom.

Blessed is God in his gifts, and “holy in all his works,”⁶ who by His grace exalted you to the dignity of king in that land in which our lord Jesus Christ Himself, sowing Himself the beginning of Christianity, planted His new church, so that it might be propagated through the whole world, and who in our time by His grace has miraculously revived it, when by God’s judgement it had been oppressed there for a long time by the infidels on account of the sins of men. And so I, mindful of the great love and favors which I have enjoyed from your father and your mother and their sons, I am unable to express in writing how much I rejoice at the grace of God, which He has shown to you and your brother by choosing you for that dignity, and with how much affection I desire that you, who succeeded to your brother, be zealous to rule not so much for yourself as for God.

Hence, my dearest lord, even though you do not need my exhortation, nevertheless from the abundance of my heart I beg you as a most faithful friend, I admonish you, I beseech you, and I pray to God, that by living under the law of God you subject your will to the will of God in all things. Then indeed truly you will rule to your own advantage, if you rule according to the will of God. Do not imagine that the church of God has been given to you in order to serve you like a lord, as many bad kings do, but believe that it has been entrusted to you as a guardian and defender. Nothing does God love more in this world than the liberty of His church. They who wish not so much to serve her as to dominate her, are without doubt proved to withstand God. God wishes His spouse to be free, not a slave. They who treat her and honor her like a son treats his mother, truly prove themselves to be her sons and sons of God. But they who dominate her as a subject, turn themselves not into sons, but into strangers, and because of that they are justly disinherited from the inheritance and the dowry that is promised to her. The way you establish her in your kingdom in this new revival is the way in which future generations will long receive and uphold her. But what I desire to persuade you, I pray to Almighty God that He might persuade you, and so lead you in the way of His commands, so that He may guide you to the glory of the heavenly kingdom. Amen.

⁶ Psalms 144:13.

Reinerium, latorem praesentium, qui se de vestra nutritura esse cognoscit, celsitudini vestrae commendo. Et quia mecum diu conversatus de domo nostra, ubi se sua strenuitate et bonis moribus valde amabilem fecit, ad vos vadit: precor ut dominum dilectum, quatenus apud vos melius illi sit propter amorem nostrum. Valet.

g. Epistle 324, Ad Baldewinum regem Hierosolymorum (to Baldwin king of Jerusalem)

Baldewino, gratia dei regi Ierosolimitano, domino carissimo: Anselmus, licet indignus, archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, sic regnare super Ierusalem terrenam in hac vita, ut regnet in Ierusalem caelesti in futura vita.

Quamvis dei dono scientiam habeatis, quae vobis ad bene vivendum adiuvante deo possit sufficere, et licet sciam in vobis bonam esse voluntatem: tamen cogit me abundantia dilectionis quam erga vos habeo, ut de tam longe aliquid scribam vestrae celsitudini. Sicut enim ignis ardens vento magis accenditur, ita bona voluntas amica monitione ut plus ferveat excitatur.

Scitis, mi carissime domine, quoniam civitatem Ierusalem et ante adventum domini et in ipso eius adventu elegit deus quasi propriam sibi et familiarem deo toto mundo. Ex ipsa enim fuerunt primi reges quos deus dilexit, ex ipsa fuerunt prophetae, in ipsa fuit propria domus dei et sanctuaria eius, ibi facta est nostra redemptio, ibi conversatus est rex regum, inde per totum mundum diffusa est salus humani generis. Consideret igitur vestra celsitudo quam eminens gratia dei sit, quod vos in hac civitate regem esse voluit; et quanto affectu, quanto studio se debeat subdere voluntati dei et eius servitio rex, quem ille ibi constituit. Precor ergo, obsecro, moneo ut dominum, ut dilectum, quatenus et vestram personam et omnes vobis subditos sic regere secundum legem et voluntatem dei studeatis, ut lucidum exemplum omnibus regibus terrae in vita vestra praebearis.

Dominus noster Iesus Christus sic regnet in corde vestro et in operibus vestris, ut vos cum rege David, antecessore vestro, in caelo sine fine regnetis. Amen.

Scitote quia cotidie pro vobis oro, quamvis viles sint orationes meae.

I commend to your highness Reinier, the bearer of this letter, who acknowledges to belong to your household. And since, having stayed with me for a long time, he goes to you from our house, where he made himself greatly beloved because of his vigor and good character, I pray that for love of us you may be a beloved lord to him, as best you are able. Farewell.

g. Epistle 324, Ad Baldwinum regem Hierosolymorum (to Baldwin king of Jerusalem)

To his beloved lord Baldwin, by the grace of God king of Jerusalem, Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, although unworthy: may you so reign in this life over the earthly Jerusalem that you may reign in the heavenly Jerusalem in the next life.

Although by the gift of God you have the knowledge which, with God's help, may suffice you for living well; and although I know your intentions to be good, yet the abundant love I feel towards you forces me to write something to your highness from so far away. For as a burning fire is fanned into brighter flame by a breeze, so is a good will roused by friendly admonition into greater fervor.

You know, my most beloved lord, how God chose the city of Jerusalem both before the coming of the Lord and in His coming itself as His very own and intimate among all the places on earth. For from her came the first kings whom the lord loved; from her came the prophets, in her was God's own house and His sanctuaries; there our redemption was made, there dwelled the King of Kings; thence was diffused all over the world the salvation of the human race. Let your highness therefore consider what an eminent grace of God it is that He wanted you to be king in that city; and with how great desire and zeal that king should submit himself to the will of God and to His service, whom He has established there. Therefore I pray, I beseech, I admonish you, as my lord, as my beloved friend, that you strive to govern yourself and all your subjects according to the law and will of God, so that in your life you may set a bright example to all the kings of the earth.

May Our Lord Jesus Christ so reign in your heart and over your actions that you may reign forever in heaven with King David, your predecessor. Amen.

Know that I pray daily for you, however poor my prayers may be.

**h. Epistle 447, Ad Atserum archiepiscopum Lundini Danorum⁷
(to Atserum archbishop of the London of the Danes)**

Anselmus, archiepiscopus Cantuariae: reverendo Lundonis⁸ ecclesiae archiepiscopo Atsero salutem et veram amicitiam in Christo.

Quod me⁹ rogastis de domno Albrico, cardinali Romanae ecclesiae, libenter feci, cum propter honorem Romanae ecclesiae tum propter amorem vestrum, pro quo libenter facere volo, si quid quod placeat sanctitati vestrae intellexero.

Gratias agimus deo, qui in regno Danorum vestram religiosas prudentiam et prudentem religionem ad archiepiscopatum sublimavit. Confidimus enim quia gratia dei cooperante ea quae corrigenda sunt corrigetis, et quae aedificanda aedificabitis, et quae nutrienda nutrietis. Audivimus namque a praefato cardinali multa bona de vobis. Unde¹⁰ istam habemus fiduciam, et oramus ut deus, qui hoc incepit in vobis, ad bonum effectum vestram semper perducatur voluntatem. Rogo sanctitatem vestram, quatenus regnum illud vestro sancto studio emunditis ab apostatis, ut nullus alienigena ibi recipiat aliquem ecclesiasticum ordinem, quia illi qui ab episcopis suis repelluntur, illuc pergunt et execrabiler ad diversos ordines sacrantur. Valete et orate pro me.

⁷ This letter also is edited in *Diplomatarium Danicum*, in a superior version.

⁸ From ms C, doubtless the original reading.

⁹ “me” is missing in the Schmitt edition.

¹⁰ Correction of a misprint in Schmitt.

h. Epistle 447, Ad Atserum archiepiscopum Lundini Danorum¹¹
(to Atserum archbishop of the London of the Danes)

Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, to the reverend archbishop of the church of Lund, Atser, greeting and true friendship in Christ.

What you asked me about dom Albric, cardinal of the Roman church, I have done willingly, as much on account of the honor of the Roman church as on account of your love, for which I will willingly do anything that I may understand to be pleasing to your holiness.

We give thanks to God, who raised your pious prudence and prudent piety to the archiepiscopate in the kingdom of the Danes. For we are assured that with the assistance of God's grace, you will correct what ought to be corrected, establish what needs establishing, and nourish what ought to be nourished. For we have heard many good things about you from the aforesaid cardinal. Hence we have that trust, and we pray, that God, who began this in you, may ever guide your will to good effect. I pray your holiness that by your holy zeal you clean that kingdom of apostates, so that no foreigner may there receive any ecclesiastical ordination, because those who have been rejected by their bishops, travel on to there, and are consecrated execrably to various holy orders. Farewell, and pray for me.

¹¹ This letter also is edited in *Diplomatarium Danicum*, in a superior version.

i. Epistle 429, Ad Gislebertum episcopum Lumnicensem (to Gilbert bishop of Limerick in Ireland)

Anselmus, servus ecclesiae Cantuariensis: Gisleberto, Lumnicensi episcopo, salutem.

Gratias ago reverentiae vestrae quia laetam se significat in litteris suis, quod deus in ecclesia sua ad profectum religionis per me aliquid dignatur operari. Quoniam autem olim nos apud Rotomagum invicem cognovimus et dilectione sociati sumus, et nunc cognosco vos ad episcopatus dignitatem gratia dei profecisse, confidenter audeo vos obsecrare et secundum quod intelligo opus esse vobis consulere.

Sublimavit deus in Hibernia vestram prudentiam ad tantam dignitatem, et posuit vos ut studeretis ad religionis vigorem et animarum utilitatem. Satagite ergo sollicitè—sicut scriptum est: “qui praeest, in sollicitudine”—, in illa gente, quantum in vobis est, vitia corrigere et extirpare, et bonos mores plantare et seminare. Ad hoc etiam, quantum in vobis est, regem vestrum et alios episcopos et quoscumque potestis, suadendo et gaudia quae parata sunt bonis, ac mala quae exspectant malos, ostendendo attrahite: ut et de vestris et de aliorum bonis operibus praemium mereamini a deo accipere.

Grates refero pro munere vestro, quod mihi benigne misistis. Orate pro me.

j. Epistle 442, Ad Rannulfum episcopum Dunelmensem (HN 209–210) (to Rannulf bishop of Durham)

Anselmus, archiepiscopus Cantuariae: Rannulfo, episcopo Dunelmensi, salutem.

Mandastis mihi per quendam militem, Scollandum nomine, quia volebatis, ut electus episcopus ecclesiae Sancti Andreae de Scottia sacraretur, antequam electus archiepiscopus Eboracae sacraretur, et hoc volebatis fieri meo consilio et mea concessione. Sed hoc nec debet nec potest canonice fieri ab eodem electo archiepiscopo, nec ab alio per illum, priusquam ipse fiat archiepiscopus canonica consecratione. Quapropter nec consulo nec concedo, immo interdico, ne fiat ante consecrationem eiusdem electi archiepiscopi, nisi a me, si forte hoc necessitas exegerit. Valet.

i. Epistle 429, Ad Gislebertum episcopum Lunnicensem (to Gilbert bishop of Limerick in Ireland)

Anselm, servant of the church of Canterbury: to Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, greeting.

I give thanks to your reverence that you expressed your joy in your letter that God deigns to work something through me toward the advancement of religion in His church. Since moreover some time ago we made acquaintance in Rouen and were joined together in love, and now I learn that you have advanced to the episcopal dignity by the grace of God, confidently I dare to beseech you and to counsel you according to what I understand to be necessary.

God has raised up your prudence to so great a dignity in Ireland, and He placed you so that you would be zealous for the vigor of religion and the advantage of souls. Strive, therefore, to be careful—as it is written, “he that ruleth, with carefulness”¹²—to correct and root out the vices from that people, as much as you are able, and to plant and sow good ways in them. Also, as much as you are able, draw your king and the other bishops and whoever you can towards this, by persuading and showing what joys are prepared for the good, and what evils await the wicked; so that you may merit to receive the reward from God both for your good works and for those of others.

I return thanks for your gift, which you kindly sent to me. Pray for me.

j. Epistle 442, Ad Rannulfum episcopum Dunelmensem (HN 209–210) (to Rannulf bishop of Durham)

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, to Rannulf bishop of Durham, greeting.

You sent word to me through a knight named Scolland that you want the bishop-elect of the church of St. Andrews of Scotland to be consecrated before the archbishop-elect of York is consecrated, and you want this to be done by my counsel and by my assent. But this should not be done, nor can it be done canonically by the same archbishop-elect, nor by any other through him, before he himself has been made archbishop by canonical consecration. On account of which I neither counsel nor grant this, nay rather I forbid that it be done before the consecration of the same archbishop-elect, unless by me, if necessity by chance requires this. Farewell.

¹² Romans 12:8.

k. Epistle 467, Ad Robertum comitem de Mellento (to Robert count of Meulan)

Anselmus, archiepiscopus Cantuariae: domino et amico suo carissimo Roberto, comiti de Mellento, salutem et benedictionem dei et suam, quantum valet.

De causa quae est inter me et Thomam, electum Eboracensem, mando vobis et precor sicut verum amicum et filium matris ecclesiae Cantuariensis, et consulo sicut fideli Christiano et fideliter amanti honorem et dignitatem regis et totius regni Angliae: quatenus diligentissime et studiosissime consideretis pondus tanti mali, quod ipse Thomas facere conatur, et omnibus viribus, sicut iniuriam et ignominiam et regis et totius regni Angliae et matris vestrae ecclesiae et archiepiscoporum Cantuariae, intentionem eius reprimatis. De me utique in spe auxilii dei affirmo quia numquam per me erit; et si scirem me cras moriturum, antequam ista eius calumnia extincta esset: ponerem super eum sententiam quanto graviorem me posse intelligerem. De hoc autem certa sit vestra dilectio, quia nullus hanc eius praesumptionem ullo modo manutenere potest sine suo magno peccato et sine ira dei.

Spiritus sanctus dirigat cor vestrum in veritate. Amen.

k. Epistle 467, Ad Robertum comitem de Mellento (to Robert count of Meulan)

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, to his dearest lord and friend Robert, count of Meulan, greeting and the blessing of God and his own, as much as he is able.

About the case which is between me and Thomas, the elect of York, I ask you and I pray you as a true friend and son of the mother church of Canterbury, and I counsel you as a faithful Christian and one faithfully loving the honor and dignity of the king and of the whole kingdom of England, that you should consider most diligently and zealously the weight of such an evil which that Thomas attempts to do, and that you should curb his intention with all your strength, as it is an injury and an ignominy both to the king and to the whole kingdom of England and to your mother church and to the archbishops of Canterbury. For my part, at any rate, I affirm in the hope of God's help that it will never happen with my consent; and if I were to know that I should die tomorrow, before this challenge of his were quenched, I would place on him the direst sentence that I might know to do. About this, moreover, your belovedness may be certain that no one may support this presumption of his in any way without committing a great sin and incurring God's anger.

May the Holy Spirit direct your heart in truth. Amen.

This page has been left blank intentionally

More Documents for Chapter 7:
The Archbishop as Administrator:
Securing Lands and Rights at
Court, Building, Rebuilding the See

a. Epistle 271, Ad Willelmum archiepiscopum Rotomagensem (to William archbishop of Rouen, about an incompetent abbot)

Domino et patri, reverendo archiepiscopo Rotomagensi Willelmo: Anselmus servus ecclesiae Cantuariensis, fidele servitium cum orationibus.

Clamavimus et iterum clamavimus et adhuc clamamus ad deum et ad vos et ad totam ecclesiam Normanniae, maxime ad episcopos et abbates et omnes religiosas personas, de abbate coenobii Sancti Ebrulfi, qui quendam suum insipientissimum iuvenem, professione monachum non vita, ita, sicut iam vobis scripsimus, inordinate et irreligiose in ecclesia Sancti Eadmundi pro abbate ingressit. Videte ne nobis necesse sit—ut familiariter reverendo meo patri loquar—clamare ad deum de vobis, ad quem pertinet hoc corrigere, si contemnitis.

Dicit, ut mihi relatum est, idem abbas illum non esse suum monachum, sed de Sancto Severo. Sed secundum quod ipse in Anglia confessus est, sicut ab audiente didici, confessus est ecclesiae suae, et ideo non est verum quod negat eum suum esse monachum. Denique ipse, quomodocumque sit de professione, ipse, inquam, ecclesiam impedivit, ipsum cogite, quantum ad vos pertinet et quantum potestis, ut eam expediat. Nimis caro vendidit nobis lupulum suum. Ecclesiam rebus suis et homines ecclesiae sua violentia, illis nolentibus, sine quorum consensu fieri non debuit, spoliavit et talem monachum, qualem saepe vobis ostendi, in eandem ecclesiam immisit et ad iniuriam dei et contumeliam monachici ordinis ibi dimisit. Obsecro, facite ut reddat ecclesiae quod abstulit, et recipiat quod intulit. Valet.

a. Epistle 271, Ad Willelmum archiepiscopum Rotomagensem (to William archbishop of Rouen, about an incompetent abbot)

To his lord and reverend father, Archbishop William of Rouen: Anselm, servant of the church of Canterbury, sends faithful service with prayers.

We have cried out¹ and again we have cried out² and still we cry out to God and to you and to all the church of Normandy, especially to the bishops and abbots and all religious persons, about the abbot of the monastery of St. Evroul,³ who, as inordinately and irreligiously as I have already written to you, has forced upon the church of St. Edmund as abbot a very foolish young man of his,⁴ a monk by profession but not by his style of living. See to it, lest it be necessary to us—speaking confidently to my revered father—to cry out to God about you, to whom it pertains to correct this, if you disregard it.

I have been told that the same abbot said that he was not his monk but a monk of St. Sever. But according to what he has admitted himself in England, as I have learned from one who heard it, he has made profession to his [i.e. the abbot's] church, and therefore it is not true when he denies him to be his monk. In short, he, however it may be about his profession, he, I say, has ensnared the church; force him, as much as it pertains to you and as much as you are able, so that he sets it loose. At too high a price he sold us his little wolf. He despoiled the church of its possessions and the men of the church by his violence, against the will of those without whose consent it ought not to be done, and intruded such a monk as I have often told you into that church, and left him there to the injury of God and to the insult of the monastic order. I beg you, make him return to the church what he stole, and make him receive what he has brought upon himself. Farewell.⁵

¹ Anselm, Ep. 266.

² Anselm, Ep. 269.

³ Roger le Sap; see Anselm, Ep. 251, Fröhlich, *Letters of Anselm*, 2:236–238, and notes.

⁴ Robert, son of Earl Hugh of Chester; see Epp. 251 and 266. In Ep. 269, Anselm describes Robert as “a stepson instead of a father; a wolf instead of a shepherd; a blind man instead of a guide; an ignorant boy instead of a teacher, and a thief instead of an abbot.”

⁵ This problem took a long time to resolve, and Anselm wrote many letters about it, to William, to St. Evroul, and to St. Edmunds Bury, the abbey Robert of Chester took over: cf. Epp. 251, 252, 265, 266, 267, 269, 271. The end of this controversy, which began shortly after 1100, came many years later, 1106–1107, when Pope Paschal ordered Anselm to confirm Robert as abbot of Bury: Ep. 408. On Robert's father, Earl Hugh of Chester, see Ep. 412, in which Anselm upbraids Earl Hugh for kidnapping and holding in captivity a monk of Cluny and another monk, now dead, whom Hugh buried irregularly. In *Historia Novorum*, Eadmer says that Anselm and Earl Hugh had a long-standing friendship: HN, 27; and quotes Anselm as saying that “Certainly Earl Hugh of Chester has been an intimate friend of mine for a long time past;” HN, 28. On Hugh's request, Anselm established a Bec priory at St. Werburgh's Chester, installing Bec monks there. HN, 27.

b. Epistle 293, Ad Gundulfum episcopum Rofensem (to Gundulf bishop of Rochester as second in command)

Anselmus archiepiscopus: reverendo episcopo Gundulfo salutem.

Audivi quia dominus noster rex a priore et monachis nostrae ecclesiae petit pecuniam, quam ipsi non habent nec habere possunt, quoniam, sicut mihi mandatum est, creditoribus non modicam debent pecuniam, et propter indigentiam in iis quae sibi necessaria sunt, magnam patiuntur angustiam. Ad opus etiam ecclesiae inceptum dimidium quod constitueram habere nequeunt; et si haberent, nec regem decet ab illis aliquid exigere, qui nihil nec se ipsos habent, sicut monachi, nec ad illos pertinet aliquid dare vel accomodare quod eorum non est. Unde vobis mando et precor, ut regi precando suadeatis, quatenus omnia nostra in pace, donec redeam, quieta manere iubeat, sicut promisit; quia si deus, secundum quod proposui mihi prospere redire concesserit, serviam ei, sicut debeo domino et regi meo.

Quod si fecerit, gratias agam deo et illi. Si vero preces vestras non audierit et aliquid unde doleam facere voluerit: faciet, sicut dominus, quod ille placebit, sed non mihi videbitur facere quod debebit. Non enim ego et monachi divisi sumus, sed omnia quae illorum stabilita sunt utilitati, mea sunt et meae subiacent potestati. Et si ipsi indigerent: quidquid haberem, eorum deberem expendere necessitati. Quare cum omnis mundana adversitas pro suo modo et ratione tangat animum meum: illa utique quae illos contristat, profundius laedit cor meum. Et vos scitis quia tam inauditae et insuetae rei assensum praebere non debeo—et quia non debeo, non audeo—, ut a monachis absque praelato suo pecunia exigatur; et ideo non mihi nec alicui expedit, ut haec consuetudo in ecclesiam dei aliquo assensu introducat.

b. Epistle 293, Ad Gundulfum episcopum Rofensem (to Gundulf bishop of Rochester as second in command)

Archbishop Anselm, to the reverend Bishop Gundulf, greetings.

I have heard that our lord the king is demanding money from the prior and monks of our church, which they neither have nor can have, since, as they have let me know by message, they owe a substantial sum of money to their creditors and are suffering great want for lack of the necessities of life. Moreover, they are unable to get half of what I had assigned for the work that has been begun on the church; and if they had it, it would not be seemly for the king to exact anything from them, who as monks own nothing, not even their own selves, nor does it pertain to them to give or to lend anything which is not their own. Wherefore I command and beg you that you persuade the king by entreaties, that he order all our possessions to remain in peace and quiet until I return, as he has promised; for if God will grant me to return luckily according to my intention, I will serve him as I owe to my lord and king.

If he will do this, I will give thanks to God and to him. But if he will not hear your prayers, and chooses to do something that would sadden me, let him do, as lord, what he pleases; but to my mind he will not be doing what he ought. For I and the monks have not divided our property, but everything that is allocated to their needs belongs to me and is subject to my power; and if they are in want, whatever I have I ought to spend for their necessities. Wherefore, while every temporal adversity touches my spirit according to its measure and fashion, that especially which afflicts them hurts my heart more deeply; and you know that I ought not—and since I ought not, I dare not—give my consent to so unheard-of and unaccustomed a thing, as to exact money from the monks when their prelate is absent; and therefore it is not advantageous to me or to anyone that this custom should be introduced into the church of God by any kind of consent.

c. Epistle 265, Ad Henricum regem Anglorum (to Henry king of the English, about the consecration of the bishop of Winchester)

Suo carissimo domino Henrico, gratia dei regi Anglorum: Anselmus archiepiscopus Cantuariæ, fidele servitium et fideles orationes.

Audivi quia vos Willelmum, electum episcopum Wentoniensem, præcipitis exire de episcopatu et de Anglia, quia non suscepit consecrationem, quam illi voluit facere archiepiscopus Eboracensis et alii episcopi. Unde precor et consulo, sicut fidelis archiepiscopus domino et regi suo, ne credatis consilio illorum qui hoc vobis consulunt, quia meo sensu non intelligo hoc esse ad vestrum honorem. Nam satis est notum quia ad me pertinet eius consecratio, nec alius eam debet facere nisi per me. Quod paratus sum, si necesse fuerit, rationabiliter ostendere, sicut talis res ostendi debet. Quapropter si illum expellitis de terra vestra, ut mihi non liceat eandem consecrationem canonicè facere: videtur mihi quia dissaisitis me de officio meo, sine iudicio cur facere debeatis. Precor itaque ut illum in pace in episcopatu manere permittatis, saltem usque ad terminum nostri respectus, ut interim mihi liceat illi facere consecrationem quam debeo.

d. Epistle 469, Ad Rodulfum episcopum Cicestrensem (to Ralph bishop of Chichester)

Anselmus, archiepiscopus Cantuariensis: Rodulfo, episcopo Cicestrensi, salutem.

Audivi quod archidiaconus vester accepit homines meos quasi pro forisfactura fractæ festivitatis et de iisdem plegios accepit, nec ante eos voluit dimittere quam plegios haberet; quod nec sibi nec alicui personæ licet super homines meos. Unde mando vobis ut iisdem plegii vocentur quieti, et de archidiacono mihi iustitiam facite, qui talia præsumpsit super homines meos. Quod autem mihi mandasti, ut castigarem homines nostros, ne alii accipiant malum exemplum ab eis, grates refero, et quod inde facere debuero, deo annuente faciam. Valet.

c. Epistle 265, Ad Henricum regem Anglorum (to Henry king of the English, about the consecration of the bishop of Winchester)

To his dearest lord Henry, by the grace of God king of the English: Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, sends faithful service and faithful prayers.

I have heard that you have ordered William, bishop-elect of Winchester, to leave his bishopric and England, because he did not accept the consecration which the archbishop of York and the other bishops wanted to give him. Wherefore I pray and counsel you, as a faithful archbishop to his lord and king, that you should not trust the advice of those who counsel you to do this, because to my mind this cannot be understood to be to your honor. For it is well known that his consecration pertains to me, nor may any other do it except upon my authority. This I am ready to prove reasonably, as such a matter ought to be proved, if it be necessary. Wherefore, if you expel him from your land, so that I may not perform that consecration canonically, it seems to me that you are disseising me of my office without any judgment authorizing you to do so. Thus I beg that you allow him to remain in peace in his bishopric, at least until the day of our reconciliation,⁶ so that meanwhile I may give him the consecration that I ought.

d. Epistle 469, Ad Rodulfum episcopum Cicestrensem (to Ralph bishop of Chichester)

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, to Ralph, bishop of Chichester, greeting.

I have heard that your archdeacon has captured some of my men as guilty of the infringement of a feast day, and taken pledges from them, nor would he set them free before he had received the pledges, which is allowed neither to him nor to any other person concerning my men. Hence I order you that those pledges should be declared released, and that you do justice to me about the archdeacon who has presumed [to do] such things concerning my men. Thank you for your message that I ought to punish our men, lest others might take a bad example from them; what I have to do about that, I shall do with God's approval. Farewell.

⁶ This means literally "adjournment," but the sense of completion of Henry and Anselm's quarrels seems to make more sense.

e. Epistle 474, Ad monachos Cantuarienses (to the monks of Canterbury)

Ego Anselmus, sanctae Dorobernensis ecclesiae archiepiscopus, reddo monachis eiusdem Ecclesiae Christi medietatem altaris Christi, quam in manu mea habebam post mortem praedecessoris mei Lanfranci archiepiscopi, qui eis aliam medietatem, cognita veritate quod ad illos pertineret, in vita sua reddiderat. Similiter manerium quod Stistede vocatur, eisdem monachis reddo, quoniam hoc ad res eorum pertinere et pertinuisse scitur.

Testes: Willelmus, Ecclesiae Christi archidiaconus; Haimo vicecomes; Haimo, filius Vitalis; Robertus, filius Watsonis; Wimundus, homo vicecomitis; Radulfus, nepos episcopi Gundulfi; et alii plures.

f. Epistle 475, Ad omnes fideles Ecclesiae Christi (to all the faithful men of Christ Church, Canterbury)

Anselmus, sanctae Cantuariensis ecclesiae antistes: omnibus fidelibus Ecclesiae Christi salutem et benedictionem dei et suam.

Notum vobis sit quod nuper mortuo Rodberto de Monteforti in via Ierusalem, hae terrae Saltvude et Hetha venerunt mihi in dominium, et ego eas reddidi Ecclesiae Christi et monachis ad victum eorum. Rogo ergo successores meos, omnes videlicet archiepiscopos, ut permittant praenominatas terras in ecclesia ita permanere, sicut ego eam saisivi.

e. Epistle 474, Ad monachos Cantuarienses (to the monks of Canterbury)

I, Anselm, archbishop of the Dorobernian church, give back to the monks of the same Church of Christ half of the altar of Christ, which I held in my possession after the death of my predecessor Archbishop Lanfranc, who returned the other half to them during his lifetime, when he learned the truth that it pertained to them. Likewise I give back to the same monks the manor which is called Stisted, since it is known that it pertains and has pertained to their possessions.

Witnesses: William, archdeacon of Christ Church; Haimo the sheriff; Haimo, son of Vitalis; Robert, son of Wazo; Wimund, the sheriff's man; Ralph, nephew of Bishop Gundulf; and many others.

f. Epistle 475, Ad omnes fideles Ecclesiae Christi (to all the faithful men of Christ Church, Canterbury)

Anselm, bishop of the holy church of Canterbury: to all the faithful men of Christ Church, greetings and God's and his own blessings.

Let it be known to you that with the recent death of Robert de Montfort on the way to Jerusalem, these lands, Saltwood and Hyth came to me in demesne, and I have granted them to Christ Church and its monks for their sustenance. Therefore I ask my successors, that is to say all the archbishops, that they allow the aforesaid lands to remain with that church, just as I gave them seissin.

This page has been left blank intentionally

Select Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Michael Swanton (Routledge, New York, 1998).
- Anselm of Canterbury, *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, ed. F.S. Schmitt, 6 vols (Thomas Nelson and Sons, Edinburgh, 1946–1951).
- , *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus Opera Omnia*, ed. F.S. Schmitt, 6 vols (Freidrich Frommann Verlag, Stuttgart-Bad Canstatt, 1968).
- , *The Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm*, trans. Benedicta Ward (Penguin Classics, London, 1973; reprinted 1979).
- , *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, trans. Walter Fröhlich, 3 vols (Cistercian Publications, Kalamazoo, MI, 1990–1994).
- , *Complete Philosophical and Theological Treatises of Anselm of Canterbury*, trans. Jasper Hopkins and Herbert Richardson (Edwin Mellen Press, Toronto, 1976–2006).
- Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1969; reprinted 1972 and 1979).
- Benedict, *S. Benedicti Regula Monasteriourum*, ed. Benno Linderbauer (Druck: Piersersche Hofbudidruckeret Stephan Getbel & Co., Altenburg, Thuringia, 1928).
- Canterbury Professions*, ed. Michael Richter (Devonshire Press, Torquay, 1973).
- Charters of Norwich Cathedral Priory*, pt. 1, ed. Barbara Dodwell (Pipe Roll Society, London, 1974).
- Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*, ed. William Dunn Macray (Longman, London, 1863).
- Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. Martin Rule (Rolls Series, London, 1884).
- , *Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England*, trans. Geoffrey Bosanquet (Cresset Press, London, 1964).
- , *Vita Sancti Anselmi*, ed. R.W. Southern (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972; reprinted 1996).
- , *The Life of Saint Wilfrid by Eadmer*, eds Bernard J. Muir and Andrew J. Turner (University of Exeter Press, Exeter, 1998).

- English Historical Documents*, vol. 2, eds D.C. Douglas and D. Greenway, 2nd edn (London, 1981).
- Epistolarum Karolina Aevi*, vol. 2, in *MGH*, ed. E. Dümmler (Weideman, Berlin, 1895).
- Geoffrei Gaimar, *Estoire des Engleis/History of the English* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009).
- Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, in *Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster*, ed. J. Armitage Robinson (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1911), 87–110.
- , *Vita Herluini*, translated in Sally N. Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1981), 67–86.
- , *Vita Herluini*, edited in Anna Sapir Abulafia and G.R. Evans, *The Works of Gilbert Crispin* (Oxford University Press, for The British Academy, London, 1986), 183–212.
- Gilbert of Limerick, *De statu ecclesia*, translated in John Fleming, *Gille of Limerick c. 1070–1145: Architect of a Medieval Church* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2001).
- , *De usu ecclesia*, translated in John Fleming, *Gille of Limerick c. 1070–1145: Architect of a Medieval Church* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2001).
- Gregory the Great, *Pastoral Care*, trans. Henry Davis (Newman Press, Westminster, MD, 1955).
- Guibert of Nogent, *A Monk's Confession: The Memoirs of Guibert of Nogent*, trans. Paul J. Archambault (Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA, 1996).
- Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Diana Greenway (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1996).
- Hermann of Tournai, *Hermannii liber de Restauratione S. Martini Tournacensis*, ed. George Waitz, in *MGH Scriptores* 14 (Hanover, 1883), 274–318.
- , *The Restoration of the Monastery of Saint Martin of Tournai*, trans. Lynn H. Nelson (Catholic University Press of America, Washington DC, 1996).
- Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York, 1066–1157*, Nelsons Medieval Texts (Thomas Nelson and Sons, London, 1961).
- Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon Hugonis Monachi Viridunensis et Divionensis Abbatis Flaviniacensis*, ed. G.H. Pertz, in *MGH Scriptores* 8 (Hanover, 1848), 288–502.
- John of Salisbury, *Vita Sancti Anselmi, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, by J.P. Migne, vol. 199 (Paris, 1900), cols 1009–1040.

- , *The Life of St. Anselm*, in *Anselm and Becket: Two Canterbury Saints' Lives by John of Salisbury*, trans. Ronald E. Pepin, Medieval Sources in Translation 46 (Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies: Toronto, 2009), 17–72.
- Lanfranc, *The Letters of Lanfranc*, eds Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1979).
- Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1969–1980).
- Ralph de Diceto, “Abbreviationes chronichorum,” in *Opera Historica*, ed. William Stubbs (Rolls Series, London, 1876).
- Ralph Glaber, *Radulfus Glaber Opera*, ed. Neithard Bulst, trans. John France and Paul Reynolds (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989).
- , *Vita Domni Willelmi Abbatis*, ed. Neithard Bulst, trans. John France and Paul Reynolds, in *Radulfus Glaber Opera* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989).
- Receuil des actes des ducs de Normandie (911–1066)*, ed. Marie Fauroux. Mem. Soc. Ant. Norm. 36 (Caen, 1961).
- Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154* Vol. 2, *Regesta Henrici Primi 1100–1135*, eds Charles Johnson and H.A. Cronne (The Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1956).
- Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I*, ed. David Bates (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1998).
- Robert of Torigny, *The Chronicles of Robert de Monte*, trans. Joseph Stephenson (Facsimile Reprint by Llanarch Publishers, 1991, repaginated).
- Suger, *Vie de Louis VI, le Gros*, ed. Henri Waquet (Belles Lettres, Paris, 1964).
- , *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. Richard C. Cusimano and John Moorhead (Catholic University of America Press, Washington DC, 1992).
- Sulpicius Severus, *The Life of St. Martin*, Chapters 9, 11, 13 and 14, at <http://www.ccel.org/schaff/npnf211.ii.ii.html>. Accessed August 2012.
- Vita Bosoni*, translated in S. Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State*, (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1981), 126–133.
- Vita Gundulfi, The Life of Gundulf of Rochester*, ed. Rodney Thompson (Toronto Medieval Latin Texts, Toronto, 1977).
- Vita Lanfranci*, in *Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, vol. 150 (Paris, 1844–1864), cols 29–58.
- Vita Lanfranci*, translated in Sally N. Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1981), 87–111.
- Vita Wulfstani*, in *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, ed. Reginald R. Darlington (Royal Historical Society, Camden 3rd series, London, 1928).
- William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1998).

- , *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom, 2 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2007).
- William of Poitiers, *The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, eds and trans. R.H.C. Davis and Marjorie Chibnall, Oxford Medieval Texts (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1998).

Secondary Sources

- A Concordance to the Works of St. Anselm*, ed. Gillian R. Evans, 4 vols (Kraus International Publications, Millwood, NY, 1984).
- Aird, William M., *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy (c. 1050–1134)* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2008).
- Barlow, Frank, *The English Church, 1066–1154* (Longman, London, 1979).
- , *William Rufus* (University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 1983).
- Benson, Robert, *The Bishop Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1968).
- Blumenthal, Ute-Renate, “Some Notes on Papal Politics at Guastella, 1106,” *Studia Gratiana* 19 (1976), 59–78.
- Brett, Martin, *The English Church under Henry I* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1975).
- Cantor, Norman, *Church, Kingship, and Lay Investiture in England, 1089–1135* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1958).
- Chibnall, Marjorie, *Select Documents of the English Lands of the Abbey of Bec* (Royal Historical Society, Camden Third Series vol. LXXIII, London, 1951).
- Chibnall, Marjorie, Review of Rodney M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 39 (1988), 462–463.
- Cowdrey, H.E.J., *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk and Archbishop* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003).
- Depoin, J., *Les Comtes de Beaumont-sur-Oise et le Prieuré de Ste. Honorine de Conflans* (Bureaux de la Société Historique, Pontoise, 1915).
- Douglas, David, *William the Conqueror* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1964).
- Du Boulay, F.R.H., *The Lordship of Canterbury, An Essay on Medieval Society* (Barnes and Noble, New York, 1966).
- Fleming, John, *Gille of Limerick c. 1070–1145: Architect of a Medieval Church* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2001).
- Fröhlich, Walter, “The Genesis of the Collections of St. Anselm’s Letters,” *American Benedictine Review* 35 (1984), 249–266.

- , “The Letters Omitted from Anselm’s Collection of Letters,” *Anglo-Norman Studies* 6 (1984), 58–71.
- Fulton, Rachel, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (Columbia University Press, New York, 2003).
- Garnett, George, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure 1066–1166* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007).
- Gasper, Giles E.M., *Anselm of Canterbury and his Theological Inheritance* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2004).
- , “‘A Doctor in the House’? The Context for Anselm of Canterbury’s Interest in Medicine with Reference to a Probable Case of Malaria,” *Journal of Medieval History* 30 (2004), 245–261.
- Gasper, Giles and Faith Wallis, “Anselm and the Articella,” *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion* 59 (2004), 129–174.
- Gibson, Margaret, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1978).
- Green, Judith, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006).
- Heads of Religious Houses in England and Wales 940–1216*, eds David Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke, and Vera London (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1972).
- Hogg, David S., *Anselm of Canterbury: The Beauty of Theology* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2004).
- Hollister, C. Warren, “The Strange Death of William Rufus,” *Speculum* 48 (1973), 637–653.
- , “Magnates and Curiales’ in Early Norman England,” *Viator* 8 (1977), 63–81.
- , *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World* (Hambleton Press, London, 1986).
- , *Henry I*, ed. and completed by Amanda Clark Frost (Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 2001).
- Hopkins, Jasper, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm* (University of Minneapolis Press, Minneapolis, MN, 1972).
- Howell, Margaret, *Regalian Right in Medieval England* (Athlone Press, University of London, London, 1962).
- Hunneycutt, Lois, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study of Medieval Queenship* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2003).
- International Bibliography—Anselm of Cantuarbury, eds K. Kienzler with H. Kohlenberger, J. Biffi, E. Briancesco, M. Corbin, W. Fröhlich and F. Van Fleteren (Edwin Mellen Press, New York, 1999).

- Krüger, Thomas Michael, *Persönlichkeitsausdruck und Persönlichkeitswahrnehmung in Zeitalter der Investiturkonflikte. Studien zu den Briefsammlungen des Anselm von Canterbury*, Spolia Berolinensia 22 (Weidmann, Hildesheim, 2002).
- McGuire, Brian Patrick, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience, 350–1250* (Cistercian Publications, Kalamazoo, MI, 1988).
- Mason, Emma, *William Rufus, The Red King* (Tempus, Stroud, 2005).
- Morris, Colin, *The Discovery of the Individual* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1987).
- Muir, Bernard J. and Andrew J. Turner, eds, Introduction to *The Life of Saint Wilfrid by Eadmer* (University of Exeter Press, Exeter, 1998).
- Mynors, R.A.B., *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1939).
- Niskanen, Samu, *The Letter Collections of Anselm of Canterbury* (Helsinki University Press, Helsinki, 2009).
- , “The Evolution of Anselm’s Letter Collections until ca. 1130,” in *Saint Anselm of Canterbury and His Legacy*, eds Giles E.M. Gasper and Ian Logan, Durham Publications in Medieval and Renaissance Studies (Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto, 2012), 40–60.
- North, William L., “St. Anselm’s Forgotten Student: Richard of Préaux and the Interpretation of Scripture in Early Twelfth Century Normandy,” in *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe 1000–1200*, eds Sally N. Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein (Brepols, Turnhout, 2006), 171–215.
- Novikoff, Alex J., “Anselm, Dialogue, and the Rise of Scholastic Disputation,” *Speculum* 86(2) (April 2011), 387–418.
- Porée, A.A., *Histoire de l’Abbaye du Bec*, 2 vols (Hérissay, Evreux, 1901).
- Potts, Cassandra, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1997).
- Renne, Kriston R., *Law and Practice in the Age of Reform: The Legatine Work of Hugh of Die (1073–1106)* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2010).
- Rubenstein, Jay, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (Routledge, New York, 2002).
- Sharpe, Richard, “Anselm as Author: Publishing in the Late Eleventh Century,” *Journal of Medieval Latin* 19 (2009), 1–87.
- Southern, Richard W., *St. Anselm and his Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059–c.1130* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1966).
- , *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990).
- Thomson, Rodney M., *William of Malmesbury*, 2nd edn (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2003).

- Vaughn, Sally N., *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1981).
- , *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan: The Innocence of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent* (University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 1987).
- , “Anselm in Italy,” *Anglo-Norman Studies* 16 (1994), proceedings of the Battle Conference, 1993, in Palermo, Sicily; ed. Marjorie Chibnall; Bury-St.-Edmunds, 245–270.
- , “Among these Authors are the Men of Bec: Historical Writing among the Monks of Bec,” in *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 17: *The Uses of History*, ed. J. Allen Frantzen (Illinois Medieval Association, Chicago, IL, 2000), 1–18.
- , *St. Anselm and the Handmaidens of God: A Study of Anselm’s Correspondence with Women* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2000).
- , “Anselm of Bec: The Pattern of his Teaching,” in *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000–1200*, eds Sally N. Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein (Brepols, Turnhout, 2006), 99–128.
- , “The Concept of Law at the Abbey of Bec: How Law and Legal Concepts were Described, Taught and Practiced in the Time of Lanfranc and Anselm,” in *Law and Learning in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the Second Carlsberg Academy Conference on Medieval Legal History, 2005*, eds Helle Vogt and Mia Münster-Swendsen (DJØF Publishing, Copenhagen, 2006), 167–180.
- , “Anselm of Canterbury’s View of God’s Law in England: Definitions, Political Applications, and Philosophical Implications,” in *Law and Power in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the Fourth Carlsberg Academy Conference on Medieval Legal History, 2007*, eds Per Anderson, Mia Münster-Swendsen, and Helle Vogt (DJØF Publishing, Copenhagen, 2008), 257–268.
- , “Anselm and his Students Writing about Love: A Precursor to the Rise of Romantic Love in Literature?” in *Conceptualizing Medieval Sexualities: Desire and Eroticism in the Medieval World, 11th–15th Centuries: Sex without Sex*, a special issue of *The Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 19 (January 2010), co-edited by Sally N. Vaughn and Christina Christoforatos, 54–73.
- , “The Students of Bec in England,” Proceedings of the Anselm Conference at Canterbury, on the Nine-Hundredth Anniversary of his Death, April 22–25, 2009, *St. Anselm of Canterbury and His Legacy*, eds Giles Gasper and Ian Logan, Durham Publications in Medieval and Renaissance Studies (Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies: Toronto, 2012), 73–91.
- Watkins, Priscilla D., “Lanfranc at Caen: Teaching by Example,” in *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000–1200*, eds Sally N. Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein (Brepols, Turnhout, 2006), 71–98.

This page has been left blank intentionally

Index

- Aaron brother of Moses, 156
Adam, 103–104, 109
Adela countess of Blois, 75 n., 129 n., 147, 150
Adelaide of Gournay, 113 n., 113–114
Adelaide wife of Walter Tirel, 113
Agatho, Pope, 45, 178–179
Alan the Black count of Brittany, lord of Richmond, 95, 132
Alan Fergant count of Brittany, 144
Alan the Red count of Brittany, lord of Richmond, 94–95, 131–132
Albert the physician, monk of Bec, 37, 39 and n.
Albric, cardinal, 252–253
Alexander II, Pope, 20, 32–34 and 34 n., 45, 49, 61, 69, 77, 85, 92, 108, 154, 246–247
Alexander of Canterbury, 19, 136, 182–183
Alfred the Great king of England, 131
Amaury de Montfort, 144
Ambrose, St., 55
Amiens, 113
Andrew, St., 180–181
Anglo-Norman State, 23, 26, 111, 157
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 111
Anglo-Saxons, 35, 95
Anjou, 144
Anselm xv–xvii, xviii, xix, xx, 10, 126–127, 134, 153, 156
Administration of Canterbury, 5, 158–159
Archiepiscopal election, 49–70, 73
Archiepiscopate, xvii, 73–100, 125–152
Bec career, xvi, xvii, xviii, 3, 13–15, 23–48, 87, 155–156, 198–199
Death of, 130, 152, 164–166, *Dicta*, 19
First Exile, xvii, 98–99, 101–124, 144, 157
Letters, xvii, xviii, xix, 3, 7–12, 17, 22, 50–51, 54–56, 59–60, 62, 70, 91–94, 135–136, 140–143, 146, 148–150, 152, 158, 161–162, 178–266
Marriage of Henry I and Matilda, 132–133
Patriarch of Another World, xviii, xx, 69–70, 92, 107, 137, 153–168
Political Theory of, xix, 4, 69–71, 74, 76–80, 83, 86, 91, 94, 97, 105–106 and n., 127, 129, 130, 133, 137, 152–154, 156–158, 164
Prayers and Meditations, 8, 40–41, 144
Primatial Theory of, xix, xx, 4–5, 49, 62–65, 69–70, 164
Received into the Canterbury community, 3, 50–51
Second Exile, 140–152, 158
Statesmanship, xv, xvii
Teaching by Word and Example, 12, 40, 43–46, 52, 55, 79, 81–83, 106, 130
Theological tracts xvi–xvii, 5, 7–8
Cur Deus Homo, xvi, 7, 63–64, 98–99, 103–107, 109–110

- Cur Deus magis*, 63
De casi diaboli, 42–43, 104, 109
De conceptu virginali, 109
De concordia, 46–47, 50, 156–157, 162–165
De libertate arbitrii 42–43, 46–47, 50, 104
De peccato originali, 109
De processione spiritus sanctus, 98, 109–110, 136–137
De veritate 42, 50, 104, 133
Epistola de sacrificio azimoet fermentati (Ep. 415), 109–110, 136
Epistola de sacramentis ecclesiae (Ep. 417), 109–110, 136
Meditatio redemptionis humane, 109
Monologion, 7, 41–42, 104
Proslogion, 7, 41–42, 104
Quomodo grammaticus sit substantia et qualitas, 42
 Anselm II bishop of Lucca, probable student of Bec, 108 n.
 Ansfrey abbot of Præaux, 32
 Antioch, 46, 55, 194–195
 Aosta, 24
 Aquitaine, 115–116, 157
 Arnold bishop of Le Mans, 112
 Arnulf of Hesdin, 87 n.
 Arthur, King, 115–116
 Asser archbishop of Lund, 160, 252–253
 Augustine of Canterbury, St., 34 and n.–36, 45–47, 49 n., 49–52, 61, 63, 66–67, 82–83, 154, 156, 182–183, 244–245
 Augustine of Hippo, St., 55
 Aumale, 113
 Aversa, 107
 Avranches, 112
 Baldwin I king of Jerusalem, 162, 248–251
 Baldwin of Bec, 136–138, 146, 182–183
 Baldwin fitz Gilbert of Clare, 87 n., 113 n.
 Baldwin of Tournai, 89, 91
 Bangor, Wales, Church of, 160
 Barfleur, 146
 Bari, 69
 Barlow, Frank, 107, 115
 Battle, abbey of, 106
 Battle of Hastings, 115
 Battle of Tinchebrai, 151, 234–235
 Baudry prior of Bec, 26, 192–195
 Bayeux, 151
 Bec, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix, 3–5, 8–9, 11, 14–15, 18, 23, 25, 83, 87, 113–114, 118, 130, 140, 149–151, 156, 163, 175, 194–195, 198–199
 Customs of, 28–31, 156
 Historical writing at, 19, 44–46, 49–50, 156–157
 Missionary mentality at, xix, 4, 22, 23–48, 59, 82, 155–156
 Monks of, 21–23, 25–28, 36–38, 40–41, 47, 51, 54, 57, 60–61, 106–107, 121, 130–131, 166, 192–195
 Order of, 24–28, 38
 Priors of, 27, 114
 Bede, 21, 34, 39, 44–45, 63, 66, 83
Ecclesiastical History, 34, 44–45, 156
 Benedictine Rule, 29, 83
 Boniface, Pope, 45, 178–179
 Bonne-Nouvelle, Bec priory of, 27
 Boso abbot of Bec, 19, 103–105, 130
 Boulogne, 58, 60
 Brionne, 151
 Britain, xviii, 23, 63, 78, 159
 Brittany, 157
 British Isles, xx, 166
 Bury-St-Edmunds, abbey of, 161–162, 164–165, 260–261

- Caen, (*see also* Saint-Etienne of Caen), 24, 25, 151
- Canterbury xv–xvi, xix, 3–5, 9–10, 12–13, 16–18, 20, 23–25, 27, 33, 40, 49–50, 52, 76–79, 83, 85, 90, 95, 101, 105–106, 108, 117–118, 127, 130–131, 141–142, 151, 153–154, 204–207
- Administration of, 5, 158–159
- Christ Church, 107, 266–267
- Church of, 178–179, 190–191, 196–197, 212–213, 216–217, 226–227, 244–245
- Early archbishops of (*see also* Augustine, Lawrence, Mellitus, Dunstan, Elphege), 17
- Lands of, 159
- Monks of, 3, 12, 19, 22, 24, 26–27, 35, 37–38, 40, 51, 54, 60–61, 97, 121, 142, 165, 266–267
- Alexander, 19, 136, 182–183
- Ordwi, 142
- Primacy of, 160
- Traditions of, 158
- Canterbury Cathedral, 90
- Canterbury–York controversy, 166
- Cantor, Norman, 6, 9–12
- Capua, 107
- Carentan, 145–146
- Carthage, 55
- Cecelia daughter of William the Conqueror, 129 n.
- Chandler, Andrew, xvi
- Charlemagne, 78 n.
- Chester, 57–58, 60
- Chibnall, Marjorie, 18–19
- Christina abbess of Wilton, 95, 131
- Cistercians, network of, 27
- Clermont, 106
- Cluny, abbey of, 24, 26–27
- Conflans, 19, 114
- Constantine, Roman Emperor, 66
- Cormeilles, Bec priory of, 27, 32
- Cornelius, Pope, 55
- Cotentin, 151
- Council of Bari, 69, 103, 107
- Council of Bec of 1106, 151
- Council of London of 1102, 138–139, 149
- Council of London of 1107, 151, 164, 166
- Council of Rockingham, 87–90, 93, 95–96, 102
- Council of Rome, 140
- Courtly Love, 8
- Cowdrey, H.E.J., 20 n.
- Cyprian, St., 55
- Cyril, St. of Alexandria, 186–187, 187 n.
- Danes (*see also* Vikings, Norse), 28, 32, 41–42, 155, 160, 252–253
- David, king, 250–251
- Denmark, xviii, xx, 160
- Domesday Book, 159
- Domesday Monachorum*, 159
- Domnald bishop of Munster, Ireland, 62, 160, 198–201
- Donald/Donatus archbishop of Dublin, 62, 67, 160, 198–201
- Dorobernia, 244–245
- Dover, 64
- Dublin, 62
- DuBoulay, F.R.H., 159
- Dunstan, St., archbishop of Canterbury, 20, 35–36, 39, 46, 63, 65, 67, 180–181, 196–197
- Durand prior of Ivry, 27
- Durham, 116, 154
- Eadmer of Canterbury, xviii, xix, 4, 10, 12–17, 20–23, 35 n., 38, 45, 49–50, 52, 56–58, 60, 64–69, 73, 77, 83, 85, 87, 96, 105, 107–108, 112, 115–117, 120–123, 126, 128, 133–135, 138–139, 141, 147–148, 151, 153, 155, 157, 162

- Historia Novorum*, 15–17, 20–22, 50,
 63–65, 71, 74, 79–80, 87, 101–
 103, 106, 111, 127, 154–155, 166
Vita Anselmi, 13–17, 21–22, 53, 71,
 101–103, 106, 154–155, 165–166
 Edgar king of England, 35, 65, 67
 Edgar king of Scotland, 115
 Edith-Matilda, Queen of Henry I (*see also*
 Matilda of Scotland), xvi, 17, 95,
 115, 131–133, 142–143, 146, 157–
 158, 228–229, 240–243 Edmund
 Ironside king of England, 131
 Edward the Confessor King of England,
 126, 128, 131
 Elias count of Maine, 112, 114, 119, 144,
 147–148
 England, xvi–xvii, xix–xx, 3–4, 14, 16–17,
 22–23, 25–28, 30–33, 36, 40,
 47, 52, 56, 70, 76, 78, 80, 86, 97,
 102–103, 105–108, 114–116, 121,
 127–132, 136, 140, 145, 149, 150,
 154–157, 162, 166, 175, 204–205,
 220–223
 Elphege, St., archbishop of Canterbury, 20,
 39, 49–51, 53, 133
 Emmaline wife of Arnulf of Hesdin, 87 n.
 English Church, 194–195, 218–219
 English Investiture Controversy, 4, 6, 9–10,
 84 n., 150, 153
 Ernulf of Hesdin, 87
 Ernulf monk of Bec prior of Canterbury,
 abbot of Peterborough, 141–142,
 149, 166
 Ethelbert king of Kent, 35, 66, 68, 82–83,
 156, 161
 Europe, 162
 Eustace of Breteuil, 144
 Evans, Gillian, 8
 Evesham, abbey of, 37
 Falaise, 147–148
 Fécamp, abbey of, 24, 27
 First Crusade, 20, 99, 102–103, 106, 112,
 125
 Flanders, 28
 France, 24, 28, 111, 114–115, 118, 121,
 144
 French Vexin, 112–115
 Frölich, Walter, 7, 9–10
 Fulchred monk of Seez, abbot of
 Shrewsbury, 118 n.
 Fulk bishop of Beauvais, 11, 54, 62, 113
 Fulk count of Anjou, 112
 Fulton, Rachel, 8
 Galen, 39
 Garonne, 115
 Gasper, Giles, 8, 81 n.,
 Gaunilo, who wrote on behalf of the fool,
 56
 Gelting, Michael, 160 n.
 Geoffrey Gaimar, 115–116
 Geoffrey Martel count of Anjou, 144
 Geoffrey of Monmouth, 115
 Gerard bishop of Hereford, archbishop of
 York, 17, 136, 139, 141, 149, 154,
 164, 226–227, 246–247
 Gerard, royal chaplain, 89
 Germany, 102
 Gibson, Margaret, 20 n.
 Gilbert bishop of Evreux, 54, 62
 Gilbert bishop of Limerick, 67 n., 67–68,
 160, 254–255
De statu ecclesia, 67 n., 68
De usu ecclesia, 67 n.
 Gilbert count of Brionne, 113
 Gilbert Crispin monk of Bec abbot of
 Westminster, 4, 19, 28–34, 36–37,
 45, 79, 165 n., 166

- Gilbert fitz Richard of Clare 87
 Glastonbury, abbey of, 37
 Green, Judith, 129
 Gregory I the Great, St., Pope, 34 and n.,
 45, 49 and n., 52, 55, 61, 66, 68, 82,
 156, 161, 178–179, 182–183
 Pastoral Care, 52
 Gregory VII, Pope, 92, 103, 123
 Gregory, Pope, 45
 Guibert of Nogent, 20, 45 n., 61 n.
 Gundulf bishop of Rochester, 19, 26,
 36–37, 51 and n., 53, 60, 117–118,
 120, 132–133, 141–143, 158,
 176–177, 262–263
 Gunhilda daughter of King Harold, 11,
 94–95, 132

 Haimo the Sheriff, 266–267
 Haimo son of Vitalis, 266–267
 Haimo the Steward, 226–227
 Hakon earl of Orkney, 160–161
 Hamburg-Bremen, 160
 Harold Godwineson king of England, 94
 Hastings, 85, 115
 Hebrews, 156
 Helgot prior of Caen, prior of Saint-Ouen
 of Rouen, 24, 27, 152
 Henry I, King of England xvi, xviii, xix–xx,
 4, 16–17, 75 n., 81, 92–93, 95,
 98, 102, 108, 114–115, 123–129,
 132–137, 141–155, 157–159,
 162, 164, 166, 226–227, 234–235,
 236–237, 246–247, 264–265
 Education of, 129–131
 Marriage of, 132–133
 Henry of Beaumont, 125, 226–227
 Henry of Huntingdon, xvi, 130 n.
 Henry, monk of Bec, prior of Canterbury,
 abbot of Battle, 36–38, 51 n., 62,
 106, 176–177
 Henry monk of Bec prior of St. Neots, 37
 Herbert bishop of Thetford, 136

 Hereford, 107, 136
 Herewald bishop of Llandaff, 159–160
 Herluin abbot of Bec, xix, 25, 27–31, 36,
 40, 42–43, 45, 61, 156, 174–175,
 176–177
 Herluin's Dream, 174
 Herluin, monk of Bec/Caen, abbot of
 Glastonbury, 37, 62, 166
 Hermann of Tournai, 95
 Hernost monk of Bec prior of Caen, bishop
 of Rochester, 36–37, 59, 176–177
 Hildebert of Lavardan, bishop of Le Mans,
 112
 Hippo, 55
 Hoël archbishop of Le Mans, 112
 Hogg, David S., 8
 Hollister, C. Warren, xviii, 114, 129, 132
 Holvard monk of Canterbury, 38–39
 Holy Land, 162
 Honorius, Pope, 45, 178–179
 Hopkins, Jasper, 7, 41, 104
 Hugh abbot of Cluny, 16, 116–118, 123
 Hugh the Chanter, 61 n.
 Hugh count of Vermandois, Valois and
 Crepv, 113
 Hugh de Die, Archbishop of Lyons, xvi,
 42, 84–85, 92, 107–108, 115,
 123–124, 148, 220–223
 Hugh earl of Chester, 52, 57–60, 75 n.,
 110–111, 113, 116, 125, 147 n.,
 150, 261 n.
 Hugh of Gournay, 113
 Hugh monk of Bec abbot of St. Augustine's
 Canterbury, 166
 Hugh of Montgomery earl of Shrewsbury,
 87, 113
 Hugh Tirel, 113 n.
 Hyth, manor of, 266–267

 Ida countess of Boulogne, 58, 162
 Investiture Contest, 4, 6, 9–10, 84 n., 150,
 153

- Ireland, xviii, 67, 70, 160, 166, 198–201, 254–255
- Irish bishops, 62, 67, 160, 198–201
- Irish church, 162
- Italy, 24, 98, 102–103
- Ivo III the clerk, count of Beaumont-sur-Oise, 113 n., 113–114
- Ivo bishop of Chartres, 112, 114
- Ivry, 33
- Ivry, Bec priory of, 27
- Jarento/Gerento of St. Benigne of Dijon, 207 n.
- Jerusalem, xx, 114, 162, 248–251, 266–267
- Jews xviii, 111
- John the Baptist, 50
- John, bishop of Avranches, archbishop of Rouen, 32–33
- John bishop of Tusculum, 146
- John of Gaeta, 146
- John, monk of Roman Emperor Theodosius, 32
- John of Salisbury, 46 n., 113, 120, 154
- Julius Caesar, 112
- Jumièges, abbey of, 24, 150
- Krüger, Thomas, 10
- La Charité-sur-Loire, 147
- L'Aigle, 147–150, 232–233
- Lambeth 59 (L), 9–12, 17, 22, 61–62, 70–71, 92–95, 102, 160 n., 170–172
- Lambeth 224 (M), 19 and n.
- Lambeth Palace, 159
- Lanfranc xvii, xix, 3, 5, 19–21, 24–28, 37–38, 42, 47, 49, 61, 63, 65–67, 69, 74, 76–79, 82, 86, 92, 105, 117–118, 122, 126–127, 132–133, 141–143, 153–158, 166, 175, 176–177, 196–197, 198–199, 216–217, 244–245, 246–247
comes to Bec, 29–38
taught and managed the Conqueror, 82–83, 131
taught and raised William Rufus, 82–83, 130
teaching 40, 43–46, 76, 82–83, 130–131
- Lanfranc, archbishop Lanfranc's nephew, abbot of St. Wandrille, 27, 38–39
- Lateran, 244–245
- Lawrence archbishop of Canterbury, 46–48, 52, 63, 180–181
- Le Mans, 114
- Le Mans Cathedral, 112
- Leinster, Ireland, 160
- Leo III, Pope, 78 n.
- Lessay, abbey of, 26–27, 106
- Letardus abbot of Bec, 19
- Life of St. Dunstan*, 39
- Life of St. Elphege*, 39–40
- Life of St. Maartin*, 58
- Limerick, 67–68, 160, 254–255
- Llandaff, 159–160
- London, 114, 138–139, 164, 196–197
- London of the Danes (Lund), 160, 252–253
- London of the North (Lund), 160, 252–253
- Lund, 160, 252–253
- Lyons, 98, 108, 114–115, 121, 147, 220–223
- Lyre, Bec dependency of, 37
- McGuire, Brian Patrick, 5–6
- Maine, 99, 112, 114–116, 157
- Mainer prior of Saint-Evroul, 32
- Malcolm king of Scotland 131–132
- Malmesbury, abbey of, 37
- Marcigny, 116
- Margaret Queen of Scotland, 95, 131
- Marmoutier, 58
- Martin, St., 46, 55, 58, 61 n., 194–195
- Mason, Emma, 115

- Matilda queen of William the Conqueror, 129
- Matilda of Scotland (*see also* Edith-Matilda queen of Henry I), xvi
- Matilda of Tuscany, 144, 146
- Matthew of Beaumont-sur-Oise, 113
- Mauger, archbishop of Rouen, 32
- Maurice bishop of London, 126–127
- Maurice monk of Bec, 35, 37 n., 39 and n., 56, 62
- Maurilius archbishop of Rouen, 24, 32
- Meath, 160
- Mellitus archbishop of Canterbury, 47
- Milan, 55
- Mont-Saint-Michel, abbey of, 23, 27
- Morris, Colin, 6
- Moses, 156
- Munster, 160
- Murchertach king of Ireland, 160
- Nestorius, 187 n.
- New Forest, 98, 114, 116
- Nicholas prior of Worcester, 19
- Niskanen, Samu, 9 n., 10–11, 22
- Nivard of Septieul, 114
- Norman abbeys, 24, 27, 28
- Norman church, 162
- Norman courts, 29
- Norman dukes 23
- Norman Italy, 103
- Norman law, 29
- Normandy, 3, 4, 14, 22–23, 28–32, 47, 56, 61–62, 68, 78, 85–86, 99, 103, 107, 112, 116, 125, 128, 134, 144–151, 155–157, 159, 161–162, 166, 175–177, 180–181, 190–191, 198–199, 234–235, 246–247, 260–261
- Norse, (*see also* Danes, Vikings), 29
- Northumbrian Church, 18
- Notre-Dame du Pre, *see also* Bonne-Nouvelle, Bec priory of, 27
- Norwich Cathedral Priory, 70, 153
- Odo of Bayeux, 76, 83
- Orderic Vitalis, 23, 26–27, 32, 81, 85, 87, 112–116, 119, 121, 125–126, 128–129, 144–145, 155
Ecclesiastical History, 155,
- Ordwi monk of Canterbury, 142
- Orkney xviii, xx, 63, 70, 160–162, 166
- Osbern monk of Bec, 44, 81–83
- Osbern monk of Canterbury 20, 38–40, 45, 50, 52–54, 60, 178–179
- Osbern prior of Cormeilles, 32
- Osmund bishop of Salisbury, 131–132
- Paris, 111, 114–115, 157
- Paschal II, Pope, xviii, 17, 35, 45, 70–71, 75 n., 93–94, 102, 106, 114–115, 117–118, 123–124, 134, 136–137, 140–141, 146–150, 154–155, 161–162, 164, 182–187, 220–221, 230–231, 244–245, 246–247, 261 n.
- Paul, Bec and Caen monk, abbot of St. Albans, 36–37
- Paul, St., 40, 44, 82, 180–181, 184–185
- Pepin, Ronald E., 120 n.
- Peter, St., 46, 55, 90, 92, 111, 116–117, 178–179, 194–195, 208–209
- Peter's Pence, 90–91
- Philip II, King of France, xviii, 113
- Poissy, Bec priory of, 27
- Poitiers, 115
- Poitou, 115–116
- Poix, 113
- Pont Audemer, 151
- Pontoise, 113, 119

- Portsmouth, 135
 Promised Land, 156
 Quilleboeuf, 234–235
 Ralph bishop of Chichester, 158–159,
 264–265
 Ralph de Diceto, 151
 Ralph d'Escures, bishop of Rochester,
 165–166
 Ralph monk of Bec abbot of Battle, 166
 Richard monk of Bec abbot of Chester, 166
 Ralph monk of Caen, 25
 Ralph of Mortemer, 144
 Ralph nephew of bishop Gundulf, 266–267
 Ralph of Tosny, 144
 Ranulf Flambard bishop of Durham, 116,
 126, 134, 143, 186–187, 254–255
 Raoul count of Ivry, 33
 Ramsey, Archbishop Michael of
 Canterbury, xv–xvi
 Reinelm bishop elect of Hereford, 139
 Reingar bishop of Lucca, 108
 Reinier, 250–251
 Richard d'Aubigny, monk of Lessay, abbot
 of St. Alban's 106, 166
 Richard earl of Chester, 144
 Richard fitz Gilbert of Clare, 87 n., 113
 and n.
 Richard, monk of Bec, abbot of St.
 Werberghs Chester 37, 62
 Richard monk of Bec prior of St. Neots 37
 Richard of Redvers, 125
 Richardson, Herbert, 7
 Robert II count of Flanders, 134, 144
 Robert abbot of Bury-St-Edmunds, 161
 Robert Achard, 131 n.
 Robert of Bellême, 143
 Robert bishop of Chester, 136
 Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, 125
 Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy xvi,
 61, 64, 76, 85, 103, 107, 110, 112,
 116, 122, 124–125, 128, 131,
 134–136, 145, 147 and n., 149,
 151, 159, 190–191, 234–235
 Robert de Stuteville the Elder, 234–235
 Robert FitzHamon, 118–119, 125, 144,
 226–227
 Robert of Meulan, 10, 73 n., 81, 83, 89,
 110–111, 119, 125, 135–136,
 144, 146–147, 151, 164, 232–233,
 256–257
 Robert of Montfort-sur-Risle, 144, 151,
 266–267
 Robert of Mowbray, 87
 Robert son of Earl Hugh of Chester, 262 n.
 Robert son of Wazo, 266–267
 Rochester, 19, 26, 36, 37, 59–60, 118
 Roger Bigod, 125
 Roger bishop of Hereford, 138–139
 Roger bishop of Salisbury, 138–139
 Roger the chancellor bishop of Salisbury,
 125–126
 Roger le Sap, abbot of Saint-Evroul, 161,
 261 n.
 Roger monk of Caen, abbot of Cerne, 166
 Roger monk of Caen, abbot of Mont-Saint-
 Michel, 27
 Roger monk of Whitby bishop of Orkney,
 161
 Roger of Montgomery, 76, 81, 83, 87 n.
 Roger prior of Lessay, 26–27
 Roger of Sicily duke of Apulia, 107, 111
 Rohese daughter of Walter Giffard, second
 wife of Walter Tirel, 113
 Rome, 16, 32, 46, 55, 69, 71, 85, 88, 90,
 92, 96–98, 102, 107–108, 133,
 136–137, 139–141, 146–149,
 154, 178–179, 194–195, 204–205,
 208–209, 220–221, 232–233,
 246–247

- Romsey abbey, 131
 Rotrou count of Perche, 144
 Rouen, 24, 61–62, 67, 77
 Ruislip, Bec dependency in England, 38
Rule of St. Dunstan, 39
 Ruricius of Tours 58
- Saint-Etienne of Caen, abbey of, 24–25, 27, 59, 176–177
 monks of, 24–25, 36, 61
 Saint-Evroul, abbey of, 32, 161
 Saint-Laurent de Envermou, Bec priory of, 27
 Saint-Ouen of Rouen, Bec priory of, 27, 67
 Saint-Philibert, Bec priory of, 27
 Saint-Pierre de Pointoise, Bec priory of, 113 n.
 Saint-Wandrille, abbey of, 23, 27
 Saint-Ymer, Bec priory of, 27
 St. Albans, abbey of, 36, 37, 106
 St. Andrews, Scotland, church of, 166, 254–255
 St. David's Wales, Church of, 160
 St. Neots, abbey of, 19, 26, 37, 38
 St. Sever, abbey of, 260–261
 St. Werburghs Chester, abbey of, 37, 57, 261 n.
- Salisbury 56
 Saltwood, manor of, 266–267
 Savoy, 24
 Schmitt, F.S., 7, 8, 9, 92–93, 95, 160
 Scolland, 254–255
 Scotland, xvi, xviii, 70, 95, 116–117, 132, 157, 160, 166
 Seine, 113
 Serlo bishop of Sézéz, 145–147
 Sharpe, Richard, xvii, 41, 56–57, 98–99, 103, 110, 144
 Sicily, 102, 107, 111
 Simon count of Amiens, Valois and the Vexin, 113 n.
- Southern, Sir Richard, xv–xviii, 5, 6–7, 9–10, 13, 101, 165 n.
 Stephen count of Aumale, 144
 Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, 69
 Stoke-by Clare, Bec dependency in England, 38
 Suger abbot of St. Denis, 130n.
 Sulpicius Severus, 58
- Theobald abbot of Bec, archbishop of Canterbury, 19, 120, 154
 Theodosius, Roman Emperor, 32
 Thidric monk of Canterbury, 9, 148
 Thierry, abbot of Saint-Evroul, 32
 Third International Anselm Conference at Canterbury, xv
 Thomas I archbishop of York, 20, 34 n., 34–35, 37, 61 n., 69, 246–247
 Thomas II archbishop of York, 164, 166, 254–257
 Thomas Becket archbishop of Canterbury, 166
 Thomson, Rodney, 18–19
 Thorold bishop of Bayeux, 150
 Thurstan, Bec monk, abbot of Glastonbury, 37
 Tinchebrai, 151
 Tours, 55, 58
- Urban II, Pope, 69–70, 75 n., 85–94, 96–98, 102–103, 106–108, 114–115, 117, 123, 133, 142, 153–155, 208–221
- Vaughn, Sally N., 10–11, 81 n.
 Vexin, 113–115
 Viking, 23
Vita Gundulfi, 117–118
Vita Herluini, xix and n., 4, 19, 21–22, 28 n., 29–31, 43, 79, 155, 174–175
Vita Lanfranci, 21, 25–26, 31, 51–52

- Vitalian, Pope, 45, 178–179
- Walchelin bishop of Winchester, 207 n.
- Waldric the Chancellor, 234–235, 246–247
- Wales 86, 95, 112, 116–117, 157, 166
- Walram bishop of Naumberg, 136–137
- Walter of Albano, papal legate, 71, 89–91, 106, 153, 159, 204–213
- Walter of Evreux, 110–111
- Walter Giffard earl of Buckingham, 110–111, 113 and n.
- Walter, monk of Bec/Caen, abbot of Evesham, 37 and n.
- Walter Tirel lord of Poix, 113, 118–121, 123
- Ward, Benedicta, 8
- Warin, monk of Bec dependency of Lyre, abbot of Malmesbury, 37
- Waterford, 160
- Welsh Church, 159–160, 162
- Westminster, 4, 28, 115–116, 126
- Whitby, 161
- White Tower, 134
- Wibert, antipope, 123
- Wido monk of Canterbury, 39
- Wilfred archbishop of Canterbury, 17–18
- William abbot of Corneilles, 27, 36, 176–177
- William archdeacon of Christ Church Canterbury, 266–267
- William of Beaumont, abbot of Bec, 19, 26, 151
- William bishop-elect of Winchester, 139, 161, 226–227, 264–265
- William Bona Anima, monk of Caen, abbot of Caen, archbishop of Rouen, 25, 27, 59, 61, 64, 150, 161–162, 190–191, 260–261
- William the Conqueror, 19, 24–25, 30–33, 35–36, 44, 50–51, 61, 65–67, 69, 77–78, 82, 86, 115, 118, 126, 128–129, 141–144, 151, 155–157, 175
- Taught and managed by Lanfranc, 82, 83, 131,
- William count of Aquitaine, 115
- William count of Eu, 87 and n.
- William count of Evreux, 145
- William count of Poitiers, 112
- William Crispin, 234–235
- William de Ferrers, 234–235
- William Giffard bishop of Winchester, 126
- William of Jumièges, xvi
- William of Malmesbury, xvi, xviii–xix, 4, 10, 13, 16, 18, 20–24, 26–27, 29, 35, 52, 56 n., 57, 69, 71, 74 n., 74–77, 80, 82–85, 88, 94–97, 111–112, 115, 118–123, 125–126, 128–131, 134–135, 141, 153, 155, 157
- Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, xix n., 63, 79, 121–122
- Gesta Regum Anglorum*, xix n.
- William of Mortaine, 143
- William of Poitiers, xvi, 23, 31, 33
- William of Rots, abbot of Fécamp, 27
- William Rufus, King of England, xvi, xviii–xix, 4, 16, 21, 52–54, 56–57, 59, 61, 63, 68, 70–71, 73–99, 101–102, 106–108, 110–111, 114, 126–128, 131–133, 140, 145, 150–151, 156–157, 159, 220–223
- Death of, xix, 4, 16, 98–99, 102, 114–115, 117–125, 226–227
- Education of, 82–83, 130–131
- William of St. Calais bishop of Durham, 88–89

- William Warelwast, 75 n., 89, 140–141,
149–50, 226–227
- Wilmart, André, 9
- Wilton, convent of, 94–95, 131–132
- Wimund the sheriff's man, 266–267
- Winchester, 114, 125–126, 153–154
- Windsor, 246–247
- Wissant, 127, 140
- Worcester, 19, 106–107, 158
- Wulfstan bishop of Worcester, 19, 158,
196–197
- York, xx, 5, 17, 20, 34–35, 37, 69, 126,
136, 154–155, 164, 166, 254–257,
264–265